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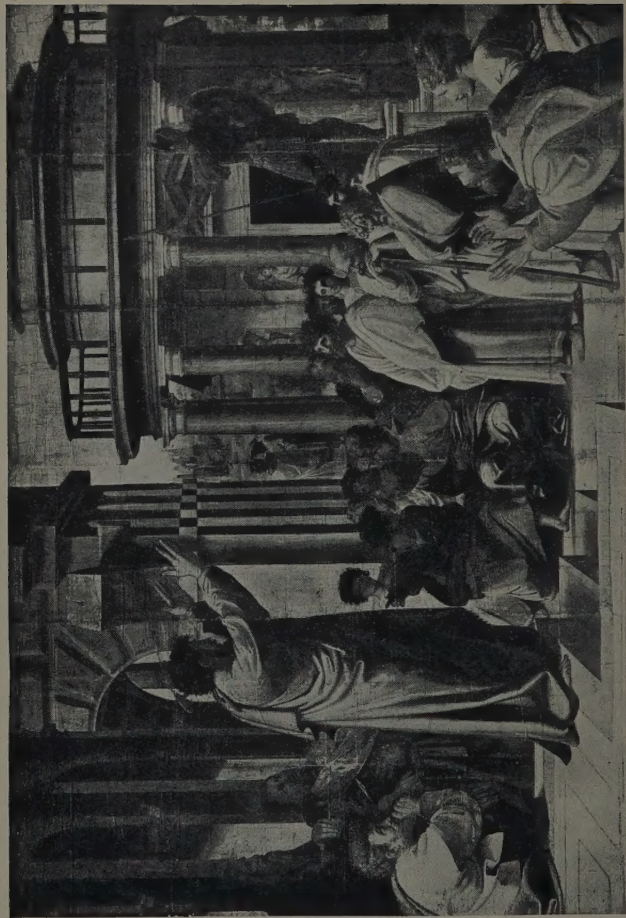
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ST. PAUL PREACHING AT ATHENS

From a cartoon by Raphael. (Copyright of His Majesty the King.)

THE CLARENDON BIBLE

Under the general editorship of
BISHOP STRONG, BISHOP WILD, AND
CANON G. H. BOX

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

In the Revised Version

WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY

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PREFACE

THE problem of the teaching of Holy Scripture at the present time presents many difficulties. There is a large and growing class of persons who feel bound to recognize that the progress of archaeological and critical studies has made it impossible for them to read, and still more to teach, it precisely in the old way. However strongly they may believe in inspiration, they cannot any longer set before their pupils, or take as the basis of their interpretation, the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the Holy Scripture. It is with the object of meeting the requirements not only of the elder pupils in public schools, their teachers, students in training colleges, and others engaged in education, but also of the clergy, and the growing class of the general public which we believe takes an interest in Biblical studies, that the present series is projected.

The writers will be responsible each for his own contribution only, and their interpretation is based upon the belief that the books of the Bible require to be placed in their historical context, so that, as far as possible, we may recover the sense which they bore when written. Any application of them must rest upon this ground. It is not the writers' intention to set out the latest notions of radical scholars—English or foreign—nor even to describe the exact position at which the discussion of the various problems has arrived. The aim of the series is rather to put forward a constructive view of the books and their teaching, taking into consideration and welcoming results as to which there is a large measure of agreement among scholars.

In regard to form, subjects requiring comprehensive treatment are dealt with in Essays, whether forming part of the introduction or interspersed among the notes. The notes themselves are mainly concerned with the subject-matter of the books and the points of interest (historical, doctrinal, &c.) therein presented; they deal with the elucidation of words, allusions, and the like only so far as seems necessary to a proper comprehension of the author's meaning.

THOMAS STRONG.	} <i>General</i> <i>Editors.</i>
HERBERT WILD.	
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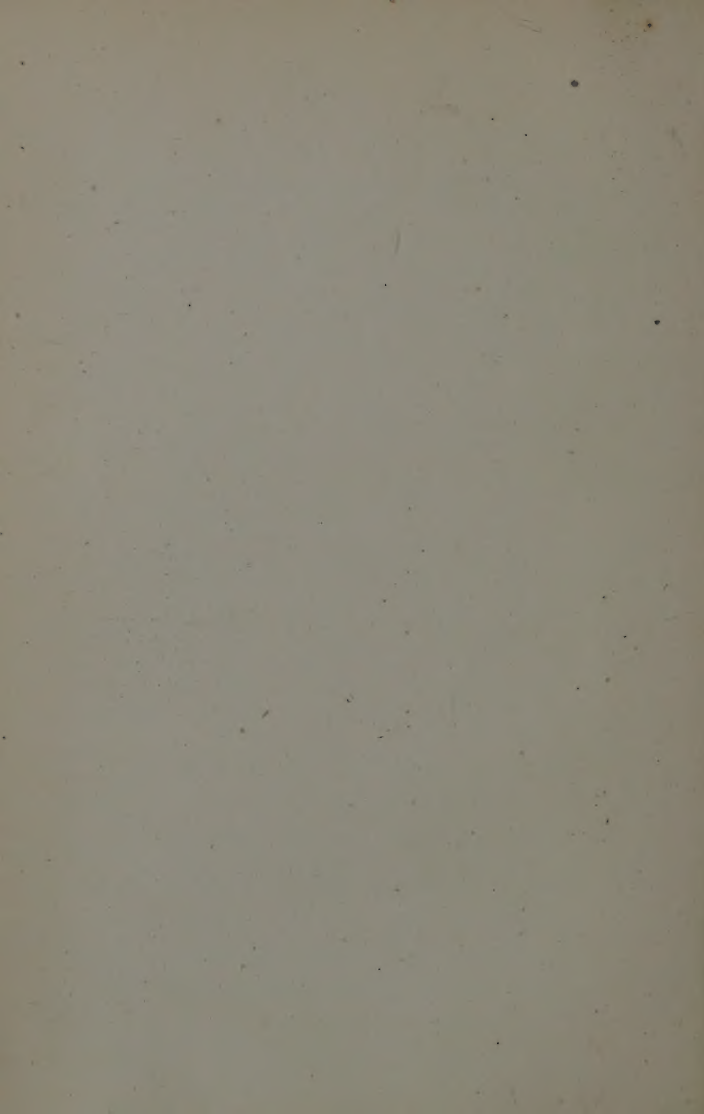


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REPUTED PORTRAIT OF SAINT PAUL

From the recently discovered underground chamber in the Viale
Manzoni, Rome, dating from the end of the second century A. D.
or the beginning of the third

INTRODUCTION

I. THE BOOK, ITS AUTHOR, AND HIS SOURCES

(a) *I and II Acts.*

The book of Acts consists of two nearly equal sections, each with certain characteristics of its own. The first part (cc. 1-15³⁵, which may be styled I Acts) is mainly occupied with the question of the right of the Gentiles to admission into the Christian Church. The stages, by which that principle was established, are traced up to the Decree of chapter 15, which is regarded as settling the question. In this part the Church is the hero, and the story is that of its expansion. The tone is unmistakably historical, and not biographical. I Acts could be called the Acts of the Church, or better, the Acts of the Spirit in the Church.

In 15³⁶-end (II Acts) the subject is the extension of the Church until it reaches Rome. The hero is Paul. With the exception of a passing mention of Aquila and Priscilla, and a detached notice of Apollos, we hear nothing of the many others, besides Paul, who contributed to that extension. The tone is more biographical than historical, though the incidents are selected mainly for their bearing on Church extension. The story might be called the Acts of Paul, or of the Spirit in Paul.

But, in spite of these differences of tone and treatment between its two parts, the book is a unity. In I Acts, chapters 9, 13, 14 are the prelude to Paul's later prominence, and the process of extension from Jerusalem to Antioch prepares us for further extension afterwards. Again, although I Acts contains many phrases that show the influence of Aramaic idiom, which are almost entirely absent in II Acts, the general features of style are uniform in both sections. The fundamental belief in the over-ruling guidance of the Spirit in the whole story is the same throughout; and the entire book is plainly marked by unity of standpoint and purpose.

(b) *Quality of the history.*

The book, as a whole, is written round the Pauline text 'in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Gentile'. The selection

of incidents and the proportionate emphasis laid on them consistently depend on the purpose of showing that this was the underlying principle at stake in the whole sequence of events. This by itself stamps the book as the work of a great historian. Harnack justly draws our attention to 'the enormous bulk of unwieldy chaotic material that lay before him',¹ and to the genuine inspiration of genius by which he has grouped his material round one central idea, 'the power of the Spirit of Jesus in the Apostles, manifested most impressively in the expansion of the Gospel.'² Acts has thus the supreme qualification of a good history, that it has fastened on the historical point which was fundamental. The expansion to the Gentiles, and the consequent rise of a Catholic Church, was the main fact of early Church history. It is equally certain that Paul was the protagonist in this development; though he was not the only one, nor the first, to preach to Gentiles (as Acts itself notes). That which most interested our author was, then, that which as a matter of fact was most important, viz. that Christianity, starting as a sect within Judaism, had yet in itself, and gradually came to realize, the possibility of being a universal religion.

This is the main 'tendency' of the book. The author seems also to have intended to write something like an 'apology' for Christianity to the heathen world. It cannot be by accident that

¹ *Acts of the Apostles*, Introduction, p. xiv. 'The apostles—the churches—that multitude of Spirit-gifted ones experiencing and working signs and wonders; . . . at the same time the most strenuous efforts are made after an accommodation with the world as it is, and towards transformation of its life by the new spirit. Lastly, everywhere conflict and controversy: the Jew and the Greek—Paul and the rest of the Apostles—knowledge and absolute contempt of knowledge—the spirit and the letter—tradition and prophecy—speculation opposed to speculation—facts and their commentaries—life and asceticism.'

² *Op. cit.*, p. xviii. 'He disdainfully refuses to be satisfied with a collection of stories like the fabricators of Acts of the Apostles who came after him. Neither has he set up a single personality as his central point, though his relations with St. Paul and his veneration for that apostle must well have suggested to him this procedure. On the contrary, he recognized with sure tact that, if he wished to place this new history side by side with the Gospel history as its second part, no single personality ought to stand in the centre of interest; for at once the unique character of the Master Jesus Christ would be threatened and blurred. It followed that he must group his material round an *idea*. . . . It is wonderful how firmly, exclusively, and consistently St. Luke throughout the whole book has kept this idea of the mission and expansion of Christianity in his eye, and has scarcely allowed himself a digression.'

he consistently notices instances of the friendliness shown by Roman officials to Paul. He must have wished to commend Christianity as a religion which the Empire had precedent for treating tolerantly. But, if this was part of his purpose, it was secondary to his main object of describing the progress of the Church to a recognition of its universal position.

Acts has other merits besides that of acute historical perception. Thus (1) it exhibits clear signs of correct observation or contemporary information. Where archaeological investigation can test it, the book is found to be faithful to first-century conditions of, e.g., local customs and the Roman provincial system. This fact so strongly impressed Sir Wm. Ramsay in the course of repeated explorations in Asia Minor that, having started with no bias in favour of the book, he has been won to declare it an historical record of the first quality. (2) It is honest. It gives no fancy picture of a 'golden age' of the Church. The author shows no prejudice in his presentation of the conditions of the early Church or of the characteristics of its leaders. And, though he records Jewish hostility to the new religion, he records impartially incidents which show particular sections or persons among the Jews in a more favourable light (e.g. 5³⁴, 6⁷, 15⁵, 17¹¹, 28²⁴). (3) The language in general breathes the air of primitive Christianity, and shows no sign of the systematic theology which Paul had so large a share in developing.

A comparison between Acts and the Pauline Epistles strengthens our confidence in the value of our history. It is generally admitted that Acts betrays no knowledge of the Epistles; it is indeed in some notable respects divergent from them; but the divergences never amount to a real contradiction in presenting the fundamental situation. Thus (a) it is hard to reconcile the records of Paul's visits to Jerusalem as given in Acts and Galatians respectively (cf. 11³⁰ note); but our difficulties arise largely from the lack of supplementary data, from the uncertain chronology of Acts, and from the differences of purpose in the two narratives. (b) Acts represents the Resurrection as the chief item in Paul's teaching, which place is held in the Epistles by the Crucifixion; but 1 Cor. 15 makes it clear that Paul did give the Resurrection a prominent place in his teaching. And Acts (cf. 13¹⁶ note) is our only authority

for Paul's preaching to Jews, in which the Resurrection may well have been most prominent, whilst his Epistles deal almost exclusively with Gentiles, to whom the Crucifixion would make a more obvious appeal. This divergence therefore probably represents an actual difference in Paul's methods of approach to Jews and Gentiles respectively. (c) The picture in Acts of Paul's relations to Judaism is more friendly than that which the Epistles indicate. But (cf. Essay after cap. 26) it is a mistake to be tempted by Galatians into an exclusive emphasis on those phrases in his Epistles which represent his antagonism to the Mosaic Law. (d) In particular, Acts, as compared with the Epistles, minimizes the length and strength of the antagonism between Judaistic and Pauline Christianity, and treats the Decree of Acts 15, which exempted Gentile converts from the necessity of circumcision, as the end of the conflict. But we know from the Epistles that Judaistic opposition to Paul soon revived, and that the controversy continued for many years; and it is fairly certain that the Hebrew and Hellenistic sections of the Church were, or became, much more sharply divided and self-sufficient than Acts represents them to be. Aided by the Epistles, we can read between the lines of Acts 21^{20, 21} a hint of the suspicious attitude of the Jerusalem Christians to Paul. But the direct narrative of Acts gives no further notice to the matter after chapter 15, and we might, but for the Epistles, have supposed the Decree to have been a final treaty of peace (cf. 15¹ note). This difference is to be explained by the disposition of our author to emphasize the unity of the Church, rather than the conflicts of opinion between its sections. This also accounts for the fact that Acts does not mention the defections in the Pauline churches, of which the Epistles give such abundant notice, because these defections resulted from the hostility of Judaistic Christianity to Paul's work. But we must remember that two men often see the same situation very differently. To Paul, a man of vivid personal sensibility, strongly interested as a leader in the contro-

c, d. Ivory carving about A.D. 400: *c.* St. Paul conversing with St. Thekla; *d.* St. Paul being stoned. In the late second-century document called the 'Acts of Paul and Thekla' Paul is described as 'a man small in size, with meeting eyebrows, with a rather large nose, baldheaded, bow-legged, strongly built, full of grace, for at times he looked like a man, and at times he had the face of an angel'.



a



c



d



b



e

SAINT PAUL in tradition

a. Early Christian Glass of the fourth century

b. From a fourteenth-century illuminated manuscript

e. From a fourth-century wall-painting

c-d. See foot of opposite page



SAINT LUKE in tradition
From an eighth-century Gospel Book in Vienna

versy, the dissensions might well appear intense. The author of Acts, on the other hand, knowing of those dissensions and their pertinacity, might yet have been more impressed by the equally remarkable evidences of substantial unanimity between the two parties. These differences, to which some scholars attach great importance as shaking the credibility of Acts, seem on examination to be merely differences in colouring and emphasis, such as bring into relief the complete independence of the two accounts, without impairing their substantial agreement. In regard to the general situation, the two pictures confirm and supplement each other.

The general conclusion is therefore safe, that the book is a first-rate authority. Of course, the author, like all authors, has his standpoint and his limitations. Besides (1) his defective attention to chronology, (2) he was dependent upon the information of others for much of his story; and that information shows signs here and there of having been imperfect (e.g. in the Ephesian section) or of having been coloured in transmission (e.g. in the account of Pentecost). (3) He was of a time which saw divine initiation and control very directly at work in events, where a modern Christian historian would trace human influences at work between the event and its ultimate cause in the will of God. But, when all such allowances have been made, the fact remains that, as Harnack puts it (*op. cit.*, *Intro.*), 'direct touch with the recorded facts alone explains such a history as lies before us in the Acts of the Apostles.'

(c) *Luke.*

Most of the material in Acts is plainly and indisputably first-century work. The universal tradition of the Church since about A.D. 150 is that the writer both of the third Gospel and of Acts was Luke. This ascription deserves respectful examination, not only because the Church of the second century did not decide at haphazard with regard to the authorship of Christian documents, but also because Luke is so little of a prominent figure in early Church history that the attribution to him of so large and important a body of Christian literature is not likely to have been made without good reason.

Luke¹ is not mentioned by name in Acts. But from the references to him in Col. 4¹⁴ (where he is distinguished from Jews, named in vv. 10, 11), Philem. 24, 2 Tim. 4¹¹, we find him to be a Greek, a doctor (we do not know whether freeborn or a freedman, but he was likely to be well educated), a loyal friend, and a frequent companion of Paul. He is stated by the Church historian Eusebius (A. D. 320) to have been 'by birth of those from Antioch'. Later writers call him an Antiochene doctor, but this may be due to Eusebius' statement, which in itself need only imply that he had Antiochene connexions. The interest which Acts shows in Syrian Antioch is palpable. It has, however, been suggested² that he may have had connexions with Philippi; the account of Philippi in Acts is vivid and breathes of civic pride; and it has been conjectured that he came of one of the Macedonian families that furnished a contingent to the Seleucid armies, members of which were probably settled by the Seleucid kings in Antioch, a city of Seleucid foundation. It has also been suggested³ that he may have belonged to an old Philippian family, which had settled in Pisidian Antioch; and the scene at this place is vividly described in Acts. This conjecture would give an additional reason for the omission in Acts of any mention of the Galatian defection.

The main arguments for the Lukan authorship (besides that from Church tradition) may be briefly summarized as follows:⁴ (1) Acts claims to be the continuation of a Gospel. This must be the third Gospel, both because of the dedication of both to Theophilus, and because of the homogeneity of the style of both books. This style is firm, compressed, and easily distinguished from that of other N.T. writers; it is good Greek of the period, though flavoured with a strong tinge of Semitic idiom, due most probably to the use of Aramaic sources.⁵ (2) In the sections where the author uses the first person plural, Acts claims to be the work

¹ The Greek name *Lucas* may be a shortened equivalent of the Latin *Lucanus*, as it is found in several old Latin MSS. of Acts, or of *Lucius*, as is found in inscriptions from Pisidian Antioch.

² By Ramsay, *St. Paul*, c. ix. 3, 4.

³ In the *Introd.* to Rackham's edition, p. xxx.

⁴ See further the article in Hastings's *Dict. of the Bible*, s.v. Acts of the Apostles, and Harnack's *Luke the Physician*.

⁵ On Luke's style, cf. Appendix, and Hastings, s.v. Luke, and *Introd.* to Plummer's edition of Luke's Gospel in the *Internat. Crit. Commentary*.



a



b



c

SAINT LUKE in tradition

a. From a Gospel Book at Aix of the eighth or ninth century. b. From the Anglo-Keltic Book of Cerne, ninth century. c. From a Greek Gospel Book, eleventh century



REPUTED PORTRAIT OF SAINT PETER

From the recently discovered underground chamber in the Viale
Manzoni, Rome, dating from the end of the second century A. D.
or the beginning of the third

of an eyewitness, and when all notices of Paul's companions at various parts of his travels are put together, the presence of Luke at these times is found to correspond with the circumstances. And all the arguments for the historic value of Acts, as has been seen, accumulate to carry the book back to one who had observed some of the incidents and had contemporary information for most of the others. (3) The force of the evidences of medical knowledge in the Gospel and Acts has been much exaggerated; but the language makes a correct use of medical terms;¹ and the consistent notice taken of miracles of cure, and also of sorcery and magic, seems to reveal professional interest. (4) Acts shows the influence of Paul's point of view in its enthusiasm for the universality and freedom of the gospel; and although it is independent of Paul's Epistles, there is some force in the suggestion² that a personal friend of Paul would be more likely to write independently of Paul's Epistles than one who did not know him. We must remember that neither Paul nor his immediate companions thought of the Epistles as potential 'Scripture'. They were, at the time of their writing, simply occasional letters, and Paul himself was not likely to attach the importance to them that they later acquired in the Church.

¹ In Hobart's *Medical Language of St. Luke*, a long list of such evidences is presented, but critics agree that he has overstated his case; for many of the words cited occur in the LXX (some in non-medical profane authors as well) and may have been known to Luke through this medium, while others are insignificant. Still there is a strong case; the most notable instances in Acts are:

3⁷. The description of the recovery is technically correct and detailed; note also the emphasis in v. 2 on the inveteracy of the lameness (cf. 9³³) and in 4²² on the man's age.

5⁶. *συντέλλειν* is the medical word for 'to bandage', here used to mean 'enshroud'. (*ἐκψύχειν* in v. 5 means 'to expire'; in medical writers it is 'to take a chill'.)

8¹. Note the scientific distinction between the cure of disease and the cure of demoniacal possession.

9¹⁸. 'Scales fell' (*ἀπέπεσαν λεπίδες*) is the technical phrase for the falling of scaly substance from the skin.

13¹¹. 'Mist' (*ἀχλὺς*) is the medical term for an eye-disease.

28³ ff. *θέρμη* ('the heat') is the general medical term for *θερμότης*; the expected results are correctly specified in v. 6, and *πίμπρασθαι* is the medical term for 'to swell' (though it is also found in this sense in non-medical writers); in vv. 8, 9 the distinction between healing (*ἰάσατο*) and curing by medical attention (*ἰεθεραπεύοντο*) is drawn with professional accuracy.

² Made, e.g., by Bartlet in the *Introd.* to his edition of Acts, p. 24.

The Author of the Book

The theory of Lukan authorship is therefore so strongly supported, that practically all scholars now accept it as the best hypothesis with regard, at least, to the main bulk of the material of the book (though some believe it to have been re-edited and altered by later hands ; *vid. infr.*). That being so, we can add to our picture of Luke such qualities as can be inferred from the tone of the third Gospel and Acts. This shows Luke to have been a man of notably ' catholic ' temper. Nowhere are women so prominently noticed as in his writings, nowhere are the barriers of class or of race so little accounted of. Again, Acts shows a special interest in the ' God-fearers ' (i.e. those Gentiles who were admitted as adherents to Jewish synagogues without being required to be circumcised ; cf. 10¹ note), and this prompts the question whether Luke himself may have been thus affiliated to the Jewish synagogue before he became a Christian. Certainly he quotes the O. T. (in the LXX version) as if he were familiar with it ; but this may be due to his sources, for in II Acts, where he is less dependent on sources, such quotations are very few. It is more striking that in both parts of Acts he uses the Jewish calendar to date events (e.g. 1¹², 2¹, 12^{3,4}, 20¹⁶, 27⁹), whilst in 21^{23,27} he alludes to the ritual of Jewish vows as if it were well known to him. But, whether he was at one time a ' God-fearer ' or not, he is predominantly non-Jewish in his outlook. He is a Greek through and through, typically versatile and artistic ; whilst his personal character as a Christian is, so far as we can discern it, extraordinarily attractive. He must have been an intensely loyal and lovable man, of broad sympathies, who found in Christianity the secret of joy and brotherly love for all, and that power of spiritual enthusiasm which he read as the distinguishing mark of the Church, and which led him to write in Acts a history which has been called ' the gospel of the Holy Spirit '.

(d) Sources.

Luke, as a scientific historian, knew the necessity of using the best sources accessible to him. In the opening verses of his Gospel he claims credit for his care in this respect ; and we cannot doubt that he was equally careful in his second volume.

The sources that must have been used in the composition of



From a gem in the British Museum



Athenian funerary monument to a Physician, second century A.D.,
British Museum

THE GREEK PHYSICIAN

II Acts can easily be conjectured. In the 'we' sections or Travel-diary (16¹⁰⁻¹⁷, 20⁵⁻¹⁵, 21¹⁻¹⁷, 27¹⁻²⁸¹⁶) Luke speaks as an eye-witness. It is probable also that he was on the spot at certain other times, though the 'we' does not appear, because there was no reason for its appearance, e.g. in 16¹⁸⁻⁴⁰, 20¹⁷⁻³⁸, and during the time of Paul's stay in Jerusalem and Caesarea (21¹⁸⁻²⁶³²), though he cannot have been present in person at all the scenes described during that period. The rest of II Acts must come from oral or written sources, derived from Paul's companions and acquaintances, such as Timothy, Gaius, Aristarchus, Aquila and Priscilla, and from Paul himself. The information must mostly have been orally given; for II Acts is plainly more directly the author's own work than I Acts, and gives the impression of having been written freely, whereas in I Acts the influence of his source on the style as well as the subject-matter is often manifest. There is an attempt at consecutive chronology, and a continuous tracing of Paul's career; the general impression of the whole narrative is vividly real; it bears the marks of being an accurate contemporary record.

The problem of the sources of I Acts (= cc. 1-15³⁵) has been described as the present 'storm-centre' of New Testament scholarship. The narrative is more vague and lacks chronological notices; and we remember that probably Luke did not visit Jerusalem till A.D. 56. Of course many could tell him of the events of that earlier time, e.g. Silas, Mark, James, Philip, and Paul himself. But the consistent Semitic tinge of the narrative (i.e. the presence of phrases showing the influence of Aramaic idiom) seems to indicate the use of at any rate some written sources.

Many and various divisions of the sources of I Acts have been suggested, some scholars making more, some less, allowance for supplemental oral information.¹ But none of these divisions has

¹ A specimen of the more cautious attempts may be given. Harnack (*Acts of the Apostles*, cc. v, vi) suggests that (a) 1, 2, 5¹⁷⁻⁴² is a 'worked-up' story, probably not written, as to which we cannot tell how far the working-up was due to Luke, and how far to his source of information; (b) 3¹⁻⁵¹⁰, 8⁵⁻⁴⁰, 9³¹⁻¹¹⁸, 12¹⁻²³ come from a source or sources, perhaps oral; (c) 6¹⁻⁸⁴, 11¹⁹⁻³⁰, 12²⁵⁻¹⁵³⁵ come from a probably written source, or perhaps from oral information helped out by written material. But he admits that he can give no convincing proof of this analysis, which in fact is entirely vague.

been accepted as conclusive, and the most that we can assert with any confidence is that I Acts is derived from distinct collections of narratives connected with Jerusalem and Syrian Antioch.¹

The latest theory, that of Prof. C. C. Torrey,² is that all the work of combining sources for I Acts had been done before Luke came on the scene at all. I Acts, he declares, is the verbatim translation of a single Aramaic document, which itself had been composed from sources and hearsay of varying value. This document was written soon after the Decree of Acts 15 by a Judæan Christian of Jerusalem, who was interested in the signs of the Spirit and in the question of the admissibility of Gentiles to the Church and considered the Decree to have settled the principle.

This theory is too recent to have yet received detailed examination; but so far the trend of opinion seems to be in the direction of allowing that the presence of Aramaisms in I Acts has been proved, but questioning the homogeneity and the very early date of the hypothetical document. Thus (1) it is urged³ that the title of *παῖς θεοῦ* ('Servant' or 'Child' of God) given to Christ in 3¹³, 4³⁰ is a Greek title; no term meaning both 'son' and 'servant' exists in Aramaic. Thus either Luke used a Greek source here, or modified an Aramaic source by introducing a Greek term; on either inference the theory that I Acts is nothing but the faithful translation of a homogeneous source has to be modified. (2) James's quotation from the LXX in 15¹⁶ must be from a Greek source, which involves that the (supposed) Aramaic record of the Council was written in dependence on a Greek record and could not, therefore, be so soon after the events narrated. (3) If the Aramaic document was written about A.D. 47-9, it is surprising to find no reference to the horrors that came on Palestine between A.D. 44 and that date. Judæa was reduced into a Roman province after the death of Herod; under the three successive procurators, the land (as we can see in Josephus' history) was in the throes of civil war, reckless insults and revolts and reprisals between Jews

¹ Though Harnack also considers the presence of duplicated narratives exceedingly probable, e.g. that 2 is a later doublet of 4³¹⁻³⁷, that 5¹⁷⁻⁴² is a later doublet of 4¹⁻²², and that Peter's deliverance from prison in 12 is a later version of the similar story in 5.

² *Harvard Theol. Studies*, 'The composition and date of Acts.'

³ Burkitt, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, July 1919.

and Romans, and famine ; but of all this there is no sign in a document supposed to have been written by a Judæan Jew in the midst of it all, though Paul, probably in reference to such events, comments (1 Thess. 2¹⁶) that 'the wrath is come upon them' (the Jews) 'to the uttermost'. Prof. Torrey's theory, it is clear, cannot yet be regarded as more than an interesting, indeed in some ways an illuminating, hypothesis. The problem of the sources of I Acts is still not conclusively solved.

(e) *Date of Acts.*

Our choice, for the date at which Acts was produced, lies between A.D. 64 and A.D. 75 or thereabouts. Many scholars accept the earlier date, for the following reasons : (1) the fact that Acts mentions neither Paul's death nor his release (cf. 28³⁰ note) suggests that the book was written before either event. (2) Plainly it was written before the Pauline Epistles had been widely circulated. (3) It shows no trace nor recollection of the Neronian persecution, nor any clear reference to the catastrophe of the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. (4) There is a notable absence of that bitterness between Jew and Christian which marked their relations after A.D. 70. (5) Such casual reminiscences as those of Jason (17⁵), Alexander (19³³), Mnason (21¹⁶), the name of Paul's ship (28¹¹), would be unlikely after some lapse of time.

On the other hand, certain arguments against such an early date can be brought ; e.g. (1) that it would throw Mark (which was written before the third Gospel) before A.D. 60. That is not impossibly early, but is more early than most scholars would be ready to believe. (2) The divergences between Acts and the Pauline Epistles are very difficult to understand, if we believe that Luke was writing Acts at a time when he was constantly in Paul's company ; they are perfectly intelligible, if we believe Luke to have been writing at some distance of time from the events, and when he would not have Paul at hand to refer to. (3) Acts must be after the Gospel of Luke ; and when we compare Matthew 24¹⁵ with Luke 19⁴³, 21²⁰, it seems as if Luke had altered the language in which Our Lord foretells the catastrophe of 'the last days', because he knew what had happened during the siege of Jerusalem. This argument is not so conclusive as it seems. The

language in those passages of Luke's Gospel is very cautious, and what is peculiar to it can be paralleled, e.g. from Daniel. (4) It is less unlikely that Luke would neglect (as he does in Acts) to mention the offering to the Jerusalem church of the money collected for its aid from the Gentile churches, if he was writing a long time, and not a short time, after the presenting of this subvention (cf. 21¹⁷ note). (5) The probable anachronism in Gamaliel's speech (5^{36,37}) shows traces of dependence on Josephus, who wrote about A.D. 93. The arguments on this point are summarized in 5³⁷ note. It is as difficult to be certain that the passage shows dependence on Josephus, as to be certain that it does not. But if, as has been suggested, the statement is due to a misreading of Josephus' sources (and not of Josephus himself), we are once more in doubt whether such sources would not be more likely to have been written and to have come into Luke's hands at a longer period than twenty years after the revolt of Theudas.

These arguments, then, point to about A.D. 72 as the date of the Gospel of Luke, and about A.D. 75 as the date of Acts; and on the whole this may be taken as the more probable alternative. But the balance of arguments, between the dates of 64 and 75, is so even that it is probably best to leave the case open.

(f) *Theories of redaction.*

We have still to ask whether Acts, in its present form, shows any strong marks of having been considerably edited or altered since it left Luke's hand. The theory, once very prevalent, that Acts was the compilation of a second-century writer, who wove first-century fragments into a second-century fabric, and that the whole was saturated with ideas of the second century, has been finally given up by all scholars. But there are still critics of eminence who, while admitting a foundation of earlier history, which may be wholly or largely Lukan, yet believe that this has suffered seriously from later interpolation, and that the whole has been worked over by one or more redactors and brought by them to the uniformity of style and standpoint which now marks Acts. This theory cuts very deep. The style in Acts is so homogeneous that, if we believe that style to be Lukan, we cannot

admit any large interpolations to have been made in the book after it left his hands ; for there is no long passage in Acts in which the general characteristic style does not appear. And this style is also unmistakably that of the third Gospel. It follows then, if this theory be correct, that the final redactor of Acts must also have been the redactor of the third Gospel, and that what has been called 'Lukan' style is really the style of this redactor.

The chief grounds for this theory are : (1) the difficulty as to the presentation in Acts of Paul's relations to Judaism and Judaistic Christianity ; (2) the difficulty of the prodigality of supernatural incidents in Acts ; (3) the 'Theudas' passage (5^{36,37}) and the passage describing Paul's interview with the Jews in Rome (28¹⁷⁻²⁸).

The first of these has already been dealt with (§ *b*, and cf. Essay after c. 26). The second appears to be a definite mistake. Whether the events which happened were miraculous or not, the tradition of their miraculous nature might easily have arisen within a short time. We are thus left with the two passages referred to. They are certainly sections which present a real difficulty to those who believe that the final hand in Acts was Luke's. The phenomena of the Bezan text (= Codex D) show that free dealing with the text of Acts was not unknown. Still, we cannot deny that other explanations of these passages can be offered, and may be correct (cf. notes *ad loc.*). Nor can we be certain that Luke himself did not make revisions of, or additions to, his first draft of Acts at dates more remote from the events, and that these passages might not be such after-interpolations by the author himself. At any rate, the theory of extensive redaction cannot be regarded as established ; nor is it free from its own difficulties, both as regards the features in Acts which suggest an early date, and the fundamental unity of standpoint of the whole book. Acts does not give the impression of a patchwork, and two difficult paragraphs must not be allowed to blind us to the substantial fact of its essential unity, vividness, and credibility as a product of first-century writing, based upon personal observation or upon information contemporary, or nearly so, with the events narrated.

II. CHRISTIANITY AND THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

When Christianity reached Syrian Antioch, it entered the main current of the life of the Graeco-Roman world. The dominant feature in that life is the apparent unity which Rome imposed on the whole Empire. The entire administration of the provinces was focussed in Rome. The *coloniae*, or city-settlements composed, under the Empire, mainly of time-expired soldiers, acted, wherever they were placed, as centres of Imperial influence. In every important district the Roman roads provided main arteries of traffic and communication, and the Mediterranean sea-traffic was well organized and protected. There were probably more and better facilities for travel and commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean and the adjoining lands at this period than at any subsequent time till the nineteenth century. Greek was the universal language, and districts which retained the use of local dialects would be largely bilingual, at least in urban centres. Roman jurisprudence was the universal standard of law. The whole impression of the life is that of remarkable unity and centralization.

And yet, within this unity, we find the most manifold variety, not only in the external forms of local government (of which the variety of titles used in Acts for the municipal officials in various districts is striking evidence), but in the more important matters of culture and ideas. The unity was in fact only specious ; it was a uniformity without any spiritual principle of unity. In the ancient world, no union of men was conceivable without a religious bond to hold it together. The attempt of the Emperors to provide such a bond for the Empire in the worship of the ' Genius ' of Rome and of the Emperor was a purely political contrivance, and its effects were as external as those of the rest of Rome's attempts at unification.¹

¹ A contrast may make more plain what the Hellenistic world lacked. The British Empire, in spite of many differences, of race and tradition, geographical conditions, administrative methods, &c., between its component parts, is in large measure a spiritually homogeneous whole, and becomes more so as Western education and ideas reach more fully its more backward sections. The bases of its unity are a common (i. e. not universal nor everywhere equally developed, but dominant) standard of culture and education, a common religion, a common belief in popular

Rome was fundamentally tolerant and indifferent to local customs and religions ; and the plain fact is that the Graeco-Roman world, within its outer casing of administrative uniformity, was a welter of spiritual diversities. Of 'course it was all, excluding the Jewish nation, externally polytheistic. But Hellenistic polytheism was too motley a thing to be a unifying principle for the rank and file of the nations, whilst in educated circles it had been profoundly modified by the philosophical speculations which made ' the gods ' but different aspects of the One ' Deity ' ; and of this Deity there was no unitary conception, except that He was the Power behind phenomena. Of His nature and character no coherent account could be given ; and to believe in a God (even in ' one ' God) is of little practical value to unite men, unless they can agree as to the kind of God that He is. Apart from their common membership in the Empire, there was no idea, moral, social, or religious, that was common property to the rustic paganism of Lycaonia, the magnificent idolatry of Ephesus or of Alexandria, the rank cultus-immorality of Corinthian commercialism, and the sterile intellectualism of decadent Athens. Spiritually, the world was seething and a-stew, and the remarkably solid cauldron which held the ingredients only enclosed without amalgamating them.

In this world the only spiritual tendencies of any live force were : (1) that of the Graeco-Oriental mystery-religions, which by now had flooded the Graeco-Roman countries, and had entirely sub-

liberty. Again, it is in India, where this community of spiritual heritage is most undeveloped, that assimilation to the British Empire has proceeded least fully. India is still, under a largely uniform system of administration, a country of manifold spiritual diversities, modified, but not yet very greatly modified, by Western educational and political ideas or Christian influences or even by Western methods of travel and communication.

The Roman Empire was somewhat like our Indian Empire, except that (1) the racial and other diversities were far greater and spread over a wider area than in India, (2) the facilities of communication between the parts of the Roman Empire were inferior to those in present-day India, (3) the Imperial government of Rome, unlike the British administration in India, made no attempt to develop more enlightened ideas on education, politics, and social customs. The cult of the Genius of Rome and the Emperor finds some counterpart in the Indian veneration for the ' Kaisar-i-hind ' and the Indian respect for the ' British Raj ' ; and it is a problem how long these will last in India, unless educational progress and all that flows from it can be more thoroughly developed and the work of Christian missions can be more widely and powerfully effective.

merged the old cults of Greece and Rome; and (2) that of Judaism, which numbered proselytes and adherents everywhere,¹ and was at this time so powerful a force, wherever it went, as to excite the dislike of the Imperial authorities and the sneers of Roman satirists. These were the two main tendencies which Christianity had to meet,² and we must therefore try to understand their general character.

(1) The Greek (meaning by that the Hellenistic world, in which the Oriental mysteries were the dominant religious force³) thought of religion in terms of spirit, mystery,⁴ and a present communion with God.

¹ The Pharisees who, we are told (Matt. 23¹⁵), 'compass sea and land to make one proselyte', were no doubt ready to take pains to propagate their tenet of the universal applicability of the Law and Tradition, but there are no signs that they promoted any systematic effort to win heathen to Judaism. But there was an organized propaganda in the Jewish Dispersion, which was remarkably successful, partly (perhaps mainly) by the attraction of the strong monotheism and lofty morals of Judaism, partly by its readiness to relax the ceremonial requirements of the Mosaic Law (especially Circumcision), and to demand from Gentile adherents only obedience to its ethical rules (and perhaps also obedience to the rules of the Sabbath, the Feasts and Fasts, and of Clean and Unclean Meats), and partly because the acceptance of Judaism provided a legitimate seventh-day rest to workmen (thus Juvenal vi. 159, xiv. 105 accuses the adherent of Judaism of idling every seventh day), and perhaps exempted men from military service.

² We can exclude (i) the religion of the home, which lingered on as a real power in the quieter circles of provincial Italy and of Romans abroad (so attractively described in Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*); it was by now a mere backwater to the stream of general religious tendencies: (ii) the theological and ethical speculations of the various philosophies; these only appealed to the minority, whose interest was primarily intellectual, although they touched the multitude indirectly through the mysteries, into the doctrines of which a certain amount of philosophic ideas, in popularized form, was perhaps absorbed.

³ The initiates of the mysteries, were, of course, though numerous, by no means a majority of the population. And many people, no doubt, exercised an individual eclecticism among the cults, selecting such features as attracted them, and rejecting such as they found objectionable or burdensome. But the mysteries were the only really strong religious force among the rank and file of the Hellenistic world, and the only live spiritual aspiration in that world (apart from Judaism) proceeded from their influence.

⁴ 'Mystery' (*μυστήριον*) = 'anything hidden or secret'; in the plural (*τὰ μυστήρια*) = 'religious rites to which only the initiated have access'. The Greek mysteries (of which those of Eleusis were most famous), though patronized by the State, were secret in their higher stages. The mystery-cults of Hellenistic times probably owed a great deal to Oriental influences, if they did not in fact originate in the East. They were private cults;

This view had the merits of setting up a direct relation with the Divine as a present possibility, and eternal life as a present possession. But these cults ascribed no definite moral quality to their Deity, the religion was destitute of ethical feeling, and its ideas of immortality were of the vaguest kind.¹ The priest was a mere hierophant, i.e. his business was to know and perform correctly the prescribed ritual; he was no pastor or teacher; and the baser forms of magic were always on the threshold of, often actually figuring in, the apparatus of the religious practices of the cult. The beliefs were totally divorced from any historical basis, and any attempt to treat the mythology rationalistically (such as Plutarch made) only succeeded in turning the myths into

and their central principle was that, by the due performance of certain acts of symbolical ritual, immediate communion with the Deity could be realized within the brotherhood of the initiates.

In the N.T. 'mystery' is primarily applied to God's plan of redemption, once hidden, but now revealed in Christ (Eph. 6¹⁹, Col. 1²⁶), though still a secret to those who have not yet received or apprehended it (cf. 2 Cor. 4³).

It is a matter of great debate how far the Hellenistic mystery-cults exercised any formative influence on Apostolic Christianity. To say that Paul transformed Christianity into a mystery-religion is probably a somewhat crude exaggeration, unless we assent to the extravagant theory of some critics that the Christian Sacraments originated with Paul and not with Jesus. But it is probably true that, in explaining Christianity to Gentiles, Paul (and others, e.g. the Epistle to the Hebrews shows traces of the same method) found the language of the mystery-cults, with which he and the Gentile world were alike familiar, a useful instrument for the setting forth of Christian doctrine about redemption and grace. The Gnostic heretics later tried to bring in the whole cycle of mystery-cult ideas in the train of the language, and to make Christianity an esoteric mystery-religion.

'Christian mysteries' became later a term specifically applied to the Sacraments (the Vulgate N. T. translated the Greek word for 'mystery' by the Latin *sacramentum*). The Christian Sacraments have clear analogies to the ritual of the mystery-cults, in that they too are symbolical acts, in which only the initiated (the baptized) take part, through which direct communion with God in Christ is realized; but the difference is that (i) the Christian rites are open. Their full meaning and benefit are only for the Christian believer; but the Church never allowed itself to become a secret brotherhood of devotees. (ii) Christianity believed that Sacramental grace must produce its fruit in holy living; it never set up mystical ecstasy as an end in itself. (iii) The Christian mysteries, unlike those of the mystery-cults, rested on an historical foundation, in the Life, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus.

¹ Mithraism is the only mystery-religion with any moral feeling or any definite belief in immortality. This gave it its great power; it was for a time a very serious competitor with Christianity. But it had not yet come into prominence in the Western world, where its spread was practically contemporaneous with that of Christianity.

allegories of the most windy kind, setting forth that Pantheistic view which reduces God to nothing but a 'soul of the universe', destitute of real personality and character. This type of idea later reached its highest form in some of the neo-Platonic writings, such as those of Plotinus, whence its best elements were absorbed into the general movement of Christian mysticism, whilst its lower



A MITHRAS ALTAR showing the god slaying the bull

elements were carried on into the practices of mediaeval witchcraft, into the unhealthy fancies of later theosophy, necromancy, and spiritism, and into the eccentric systems of secret ritualism, such as that of the Rosicrucians.

(2) The Jew thought of religion in terms of righteousness, law, and moral conduct. He held a high and noble theology, based on historical acts of revelation. He believed in a holy God, who had enacted a moral law; his religion had therefore the merit of being an ethical discipline, whilst the Messianic hope saved it from being a mere dull legalism. But Judaism had the characteristic defects of a Deism which tends, by an exclusive emphasis on

the transcendence of God, to separate God from man. Again, it was the religion of a nation, and of a nation which seems to have been generally unpopular ; as such it was disqualified from becoming a universal religion. Even Jewish Monotheism was exclusive ; it was no belief in a 'One God', whom all men had been feeling after (such as Paul expounds at Lystra or at Athens), but an exclusive pride in Jehovah, the God of Israel, as being the only true God, whilst the gods of the nations are nothing, or, at best, demons. Pharisaism was the logical development of the narrower and exclusive element in Judaism.

Neither of these tendencies had in it a universal appeal, though each contained in solution elements which might be combined in some more universal truth. It was to this world that Christianity came, with its Gospel of a God, the One God whom all men have been feeling after, a God who is holy and yet has given in Jesus His proof that He is Love, a God with whom present communion can be enjoyed, but who can only be known in a life of moral holiness. It was a Gospel ; and it was also the religion of an organized body, which soon learnt to transcend all national qualifications. To the Greeks the Church would look at first sight like another brotherhood of devotees ; but Christianity was saved from being a mere mystery-cult by its emphasis on the historical fact of the Incarnation, and by its demand for moral qualities of character. It offered the ecstasy of immediate union with God, but its belief in the Second Advent of Christ inspired it to be a force of practical improvement in the present world.

If, for instance, we consider the conception of the Spirit, of which Acts is so full, we can see that the Christian doctrine of the Spirit is the basis of all Christian mysticism. He is the source of personal inspiration, working within men through the rapture of prayer and the mysterious media of the Sacraments to produce in man a sense of God's presence, to enable him to realize eternal life here and now. He is also the Spirit of articulate Church life, working normally through the fellowship to each individual member of it. And yet He is connected with the historical Incarnation, He is the Spirit of righteousness, and the fruits of the Spirit are seen in the moral qualities of a character after the pattern of the historical Jesus (cf. 1 Cor. 13).

Thus Christianity united in itself the two different elements, the moral and the mystical, and appeared as covering both the inward and the outward, the individual and the social, sides in human life. As such it had in it the quality of a universal appeal, which moreover was commended to the world by the obvious moral and spiritual attractiveness of the Church which proclaimed it. It possessed the capacity of supplying that spiritual principle of unity of which the world was in need. We can hardly say whether Paul actually discerned this possibility or not. Ramsay's view¹ that the vision of a Christian Church of the Empire floated before his mind is at any rate supported by the fact that Paul's missions seem deliberately to have kept along the high roads connecting the main centres of Graeco-Roman civilization, and by the thought of the Epistle to the Ephesians. But whether Paul's statesmanship was so consciously prescient or not, this was the actual position which the Church is seen to occupy in the *débâcle* of the Roman Empire. It stands out then, in the midst of secular ruin, as the one force which the event does not overwhelm. It converts the barbarians, it saves all that could be saved of Graeco-Roman civilization, and bridges the transition from the classical to the 'Catholic' age. The uniformity of the Roman Empire collapses, except in so far as it survives in that organization of the Church which so prodigiously influenced the political development of mediæval Europe; but that spiritual force which Christianity had supplied to the world of Imperial Rome passes on, in the hands of the Church, to be again the unifying principle of Western Europe, in the centuries that succeeded the fall of the Roman Empire.

III. THE MIRACLES IN ACTS

Christianity rests upon Jesus Christ, upon the fact of His Personality and Life; and the history of Christianity is the only ultimate verification of the divine impression which He made on His contemporaries and still makes on us. The 'sinlessness' of His character is a moral miracle in itself; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the occurrence of such a miracle would be accompanied by the occurrence of miracles in the physical sphere

¹ Cf. *Pauline Studies*, c. iii.

as well. If He was a unique Person, as His disciples from the earliest times believed Him to be—a belief which the history of Christianity corroborates—unique events might rationally be expected to accompany His entrance into, and operation in, human life. We should believe Him to be what Christian Faith declares Him to be ; we should believe it on grounds of faith, i. e. of vital response to the impression that He makes in history and in individual experience ; and we should then be prepared to credit that physical miracles marked His Incarnation, and might be prolonged, beyond the period of His Incarnate Life, in the intense spiritual excitement that characterized the apostolic age.

To say more than this on the general question would be out of place here. As regards the miracles in Acts, our data are as follows :—

A. The statements of the book itself, which come to us with the force derived from the general credentials of Acts as a good history, the product of a serious historian, who had access to contemporary sources of information and used his sources with honesty and judgement.¹

B. The spiritual enthusiasm of the time must have been such that the occurrence of remarkable spiritual phenomena was more likely than their absence. And, when we classify the notices in Acts, we find a very large number which are stories of spiritual manifestations, and are supernatural rather than miraculous. The amount of overt (‘ singular ’, as Harnack calls it) miracle is small.

C. Finally, we have to allow for the uncertainty of oral tradition, the tendency of Orientals to harden imagery into fact, and the readiness of the time to discern special providences directly at work in any remarkable events. Some incidents which Acts

¹ Harnack (*op. cit.*, c. iv) has computed that, whilst the proportion of supernatural events in I Acts is about equal to that in the ‘ We ’ sections of II Acts (where Luke speaks as an eyewitness), very few are recorded in the rest of II Acts. The inference is clear ; he was ready to credit such an interpretation of events, but when he was dependent on the records of others, he did not insert such notices where he did not find them. His sources for I Acts contained many such incidents, his sources for II Acts (excluding the ‘ We ’ sections) did not, and he followed his sources in each case. Certainly we have no reason to regard such notices as inventions.

presents as miraculous may have been such as would receive a more normal interpretation in a more scientific age. But it is obviously impossible to measure the exact extent of such a possibility in any individual instance. All that historical criticism has a right to do is to leave the alternative explanation of the event open.

In any case, that which most matters in Christianity, the moral wonder of Christ's Personality, stands secured by the Gospel record and by the verdict of history attesting His vital power. Of such attestation Acts gives us the first chapter; for it puts beyond dispute the living influence of Jesus in the history of the early Church and of the world in which that Church arose.

IV. THE RELIGIOUS VALUE OF ACTS

The historical importance of Acts is patent. But Luke wrote as a Christian no less than as an historian, to instruct but also to edify by instructing. A summary notice of the religious value of the book may save us from reading it as a work of merely historical interest.

Of the inspiration of Acts there can be no doubt. The author was not exempted from the necessity of using the methods required for all good history, nor from the intellectual limitations due to his age and to the nature of his sources. But, if by an 'inspired' work we mean that of a writer profoundly conscious of God and writing in that consciousness, the right of Acts to a place in the N. T. Canon is beyond question. The chief general characteristic of the book is, in fact, that it consistently sees God at work in history; essentially, the doctrine of the Spirit in Acts is a great protest against the tendency which would sever human history from reference to the Will of God.

In particular (A), Acts, as the great record of early Church life, takes us back to the time before the Church had taken shape as a settled and organized institution. It invites us to 'look to the rock whence we are hewn', and helps us to go behind the Church organization with which we are so familiar, to that life which the organization came into being to express and protect, but has sometimes tended to strangle or to sterilize.

Three special points may be noted under this head :

(1) The emphasis which Acts lays on the principle of Church unity. The book is no fancy picture of an impossible unanimity. It does not leave us unaware of the differences of opinion and interest which prevailed between different sections of the Church, nor even of the real division which existed between Judaistic and Pauline Christianity. But the author is obviously more impressed by the unity which he sees underlying all these differences. He sees the Church as a unity in diversity ; and this also was the Pauline standpoint (cf. 1 Cor. 12^{4 ff.}, Eph. 4^{1 ff.}). Acts shows us Paul as the great Church statesman, who, vehement as he is in controversy (Acts 15²), is yet emphatically a man who discerns the need of unity and works for its establishment (Acts 16⁴, 21²⁶, Essay D). In this respect Acts is a valuable testimony to set, both as parallel and as contrast, beside the early Pauline Epistles (Gal., Thess., Cor., Rom.), in which, speaking very broadly, the differences loom so large that it is not difficult to forget the other side of the picture. This contrast may partly be due to the fact that the rank and file of the Church, to which Luke belonged, often sees the unity in difference of the Church more plainly than its leaders, who in the stress of leadership are more immediately aware of its differences in unity ; but it is also partly because Paul's early Epistles, written when the controversy was still active, fully represent only one side of Paul's real mind. In Ephesians 4 Paul writes in a tone different from that in Galatians ; and Acts enables us to see that this side of Paul was as characteristic as the other side, and so helps us to read his early Epistles with the knowledge of his other side in our mind to modify the vehemence of his controversial energy.

(2) We may note also the consistency with which Acts suggests the moral and spiritual qualities of the early Church, especially the joy which marked it and the sense of brotherhood which filled it (cf. 2⁴⁴⁻⁴⁷, 4³², 8⁸, &c.). The picture is the more attractive because Acts does not wholly blur the darker features in the Church's life, as instanced in the sin of Ananias and Sapphira and the opposition which Paul experienced. But there is a predominant radiance over the whole book, which makes us realize that, just as Luke thought of the Holy Spirit as the great unifying power between

men who differed strongly in opinion, so he thought of that Spirit as the one who inspired a sunny quality of moral and spiritual life, which had an obvious attraction for Luke himself, as it had later, according to the Church fathers of the second and third centuries, for the Gentile world as a whole.

(3) The consuming conviction of a divine mission, which possessed the early Church, is another feature which Acts brings into special prominence. Its whole note is that of expansion and extension. The Spirit, guiding every choice, action, and purpose of the Church, testifies to God's interest in its progress; and though we are too sophisticated not to remark a certain simplicity in the constancy of Luke's references to special providences, yet nobody can deny the presence in the Church of a compelling force always driving it outwards to fresh ventures. This force is the Spirit; its *differentia* is that it is intrinsically a missionary force; and this circumstance points the contrast, which Luke does not explicitly draw, between the old Israel which, in spite of the highest teaching of its prophets, had allowed itself to become a mere Society for the Preservation of the Law, and the new Israel, which, from Pentecost onwards, conceived of itself as a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Acts is, of all books beyond the Gospels, the great handbook of Christian missionary enthusiasm.

(B) Acts records the beginnings of Christian doctrinal statements, the primitive attempts of Christian creed-making. As such, its value is extraordinary; the more so because (i) this feature is brought out so incidentally. Acts is no treatise on early Christian belief, but in the apostolic speeches which it contains (cf. 2¹⁴ note, for a discussion of the extent to which these speeches may be considered authentic) Luke reveals the general trend of early Christian teaching. And (ii) these speeches are noticeably primitive in their flavour. They contain no trace of the systematic Christology which Paul and others afterwards developed. They are a simple statement of what the new society meant. The Church was still in the stage of new experience and was trying to find words to state it; it had not yet embarked on the attempt at a systematic definition of Christian doctrine.

Peter's speech in chapter 2 sets the type; its gist is simply (1)

Jesus, who was of a character which showed Him to be of God, was crucified, but (2) we are witnesses that God raised Him from the dead ; (3) this, in accordance with the Scriptures, proves that He is the Christ ; therefore (4) repent and be baptized into His Name, and you will share the inspiration which you see in us, and which proceeds from Him. The speeches in chapters 3; 4, 5, 10 are on precisely similar lines ; all contain or imply the same four elements, the reference to the historical life of Jesus, the personal witness to the Resurrection, the interpretation, based on scriptural evidences, that Jesus is the Christ, and the challenge to verification.¹ The same can be said of Paul's speech in chapter 13^{16 ff.},² though Paul is more explicit in his inferences as to the redemptive significance of the claim that Jesus is Christ.

We must note (1) that strangely little is said in these speeches about the life and teaching of Jesus. Of course all of them, except that in chapter 13, are delivered either to Jews or (c. 10) to Gentiles resident in Palestine, who might therefore be acquainted with the main facts. But at Pisidian Antioch (c. 13) such an explanation is inadmissible. If, however, the speeches in Acts are mere summary outlines, we may suppose, what is so natural as to be almost certain, that much more detail of Jesus' life was given where it would be unfamiliar. The fact that Gospel records began so soon to be required seems to prove that in the oral teaching of the apostles a real picture of Jesus was a regular element. (2) All these speeches are delivered to people who are assumed to be acquainted with the O. T. and the Jewish method of argument from it. At Lystra and Athens, where the audiences were wholly heathen, Paul takes a different line, proceeding not immediately from the facts of Jesus' life and not at all from scriptural proof, but starting from the general principle of belief

¹ Stephen follows a different method, starting from scriptural anticipations ; but he ends (Acts 7⁵²) with the ascription to Jesus of a Messianic title. In itself the speech only contains the third element of the four which we have noted ; but probably the other elements had been included in his previous preaching, this speech being a scriptural argument and not a mission sermon ; moreover, the speech is interrupted before it could develop the bearing of Jesus' Life and Resurrection, which, however, is implied throughout ; and v. 56 is a clear declaration of the Resurrection.

² We can see the four elements quite clearly as follows : (1) vv. 23-9, (2) vv. 30-1, (3) vv. 17-23 and 33-9, (4) vv. 26 and 38-41.

in God. But the speech at Lystra is a mere fragment, whilst that at Athens ends abruptly. We have no real specimen of a mission sermon to Gentiles,¹ and can only form vague inferences, from phrases in the Pauline Epistles, as to the general character of such sermons (cf. 1 Cor. 1²³, 2², 15^{1 ff.}; Gal. 1³; 1 Thess. 1^{9 ff.}). (3) All these speeches are addressed to audiences composed of people who are not yet Christians. Acts gives us Paul's sermon to the Christian elders of Ephesus in cap. 20; but that is a pastoral homily, and such doctrine as it contains (e. g. in vv. 21, 24, 28) is assumed rather than stated. We must go to the N. T. Epistles if we would infer what further doctrinal teaching was given to converts after they had been baptized; Acts only supplies the elementary stage of primitive Christian teaching.

If, then, we take the speeches in Acts as fairly representative specimens of early Christian mission preaching, we find that to the picture of Jesus an interpretation was attached, the significance of which calls for consideration.

Jesus is 'Lord and Christ', God's 'holy Servant', His 'Son', 'the Prince of life', 'the Righteous One', 'Lord of all', 'Saviour', 'Son of God'. It is clear that these titles present Jesus as fulfilling the traditional Jewish hopes of the Messiah, which by now had come to be fixed on a Being of supernatural origin (cf. Essay B). His Resurrection and Ascension give Him a unique exaltation. He is to judge the world. And the requirement of Baptism 'into His Name' distinguished Him from any human teacher (contrast Acts 19³, 'into John's baptism', not 'into John's name'). That Jesus was preached as the Messiah, as being a unique manifestation of God, through whom men might come to know and be in communion with God, is certain. But it is not so clear that He was yet conceived of as definitely Divine.² The

¹ Paul's speeches in cc. 22, 24, and 26 are dictated by the occasions and contain no attempt at the exposition of Christian doctrine, though the extremely important idea that Christianity is Judaism completed figures prominently in them.

² Professor Rendel Harris, in a short monograph, *The origin of the doctrine of the Trinity*, gives evidence for a very interesting theory that the Christians first learnt to apply to Jesus the title 'the Wisdom of God', attributing to Him as such the nature of Wisdom as set out in Jewish literature, e. g. in Prov. 8, Wisd. 7, Ecclus. 24. 'Historically', he says, 'the first impression Jesus made upon His disciples and His compatriots was that of an abnormal, supernatural Wisdom.' Of this point of view

probability is that the question whether he was God *or* man had not yet been deliberately asked or thought of. At present the Church was content with its experience of God known in Christ ; this led it to use phrases of adoration and gratitude to Him for this experience ; and dogma followed later. But at first it was enough for them to feel the conviction, born of personal experience, that in Him they found God and were united to one another. The definition of what Jesus must be, to be the mediator of such experience, only came in process of time.

The Church, therefore, in the strength of its personal experience, challenged experimental verification. 'Repent and be baptized, and ye shall (as the inevitable effect) receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.' The effect was a matter of experience too, and the simple fact was that the new inspiration and life did transmit itself to the new member. The requirements for Baptism were 'Repentance', which meant the renunciation of 'the world', the desire to find means of a better access to God, and 'Faith', the belief that in union with Christ, in the fellowship of which He was the centre, this way to God was attainable ; and the verification was that this enthusiasm or God-possession, this gift of the Holy Spirit, actually was found to be infectious. All was still at the stage of experience, not of systematic doctrine. The impression, which Acts gives, is of a society with an astonishing spiritual power and vigour, of a common life which has not yet learnt or tried fully to define the conditions of its own existence, but which understands enough to acknowledge, in Jesus Christ exalted at God's right hand, the source from which it flows, and to rely on the Spirit of Christ as its permanent principle of vitality. Inter-

there is no trace in Acts, where the titles are all Messianic (on 'Son of God' as a Messianic title cf. 9²⁰ note) and the thought is moulded in Messianic forms. If Professor Harris is right (he declares his theory to be 'certain'), we have to allow that Jesus was called the Wisdom of God, as well as the Christ, and the Son of God, by the first Christians. This may be true ; it illustrates some N.T. phrases (e.g. 1 Cor. 1²⁴), and certainly illuminates the pedigree of the Logos doctrine in the prologue to the fourth Gospel. But there is no doubt that, overtly, the conceptions of the Christ and the Son of God dominate Acts and the Pauline Epistles. However, whatever may have been the original form of Christian doctrine, our idea of the doctrinal development remains the same. The title 'Divine Wisdom' would at first be rather a phrase of honour than of dogma, until Christian speculation began to deal with the Christological implications of such phrases as were used.

pretation and formulation were necessary stages, and soon followed ; but this was the first and the originative phase in the story of the doctrinal development of Christianity.

Acts is thus the first history of Christian doctrine, and gives us light by which to see the principle (that Christian experience gives the law to Christian formulation) which lies at the basis of all Christian dogmatics, the principle by which alone we can rightly understand the nature of the Christian Creed and the purpose of the Church in formulating it. The Creed is not the product of a series of guesses at truth. The truth was the Church's possession, in experience, from the beginning ; and the only problem was to find words which should not be inadequate to state the main facts of that experience. The experience was mistress of the process, and no formula would be sufficient, if it excluded or ignored any vital element in that experience. So, too, the Creed is not the conclusion of a series of philosophical speculations, nor was it put forward as a complete definition of absolute truth. It is the formula which the Church agreed on as least insufficient to safeguard that experience of which it was quite sure, viz. the experience of union with God in Christ, of salvation through Him, and of continuous sanctification, within the brotherhood of believers, by the Spirit which proceeded from Him.

V. THE CHRONOLOGY OF ACTS

The difficulty of fixing an exact chronological scheme for Acts is great and notorious. The early Christians, in general, seem to have been indifferent to chronological exactitude ; their expectation of the imminent Return of Christ explains this, and though, in the third Gospel and Acts, some parallel dates from secular history are given, yet these are not sufficient to supply a complete chronology of the events ; for (1) while the length of Paul's residence in some places is stated, we are not told the length of the intervals between one period and the next ; (2) the different methods of reckoning the years of the Roman Emperors introduce uncertainty into our calculations ; (3) the Jewish calendar is a perfect maze ; its basis was the appearance of the Paschal full moon, but with the dispersion of the Jews over the world the

dating of this varied ; and the Jews introduced intercalary months without any consideration for the feelings of later chronologists. (4) Finally, the exact bearing of Paul's time-references in Galatians is rendered uncertain by the fact that we cannot be sure whether in Gal. 2¹ he is dating the ' fourteen years ' from his conversion, or from his first visit to Jerusalem ; and the whole problem of the relation between his visits to Jerusalem as recorded there, and those recorded in Acts, is, as is shown in the commentary, full of dubious points.

We have, as fixed points in the story of Acts, only the following :

(1) Herod Agrippa I died in A.D. 44, and so we can date Acts 12²³ ; but the chronological relation of that event to Acts 11 and 13 is not precisely stated.

(2) The famine predicted in Acts 11²⁸ is that which reached its climax in A.D. 46, but again we are only told of its prediction and of the Antiochene resolution to send help to Jerusalem ; we are not told when that visit actually took place.

(3) We know the names of the pro-consuls of Cyprus in A.D. 51 and 52, and since Sèrgius Paulus' name is not among them we can infer that Paul's visit to Cyprus (13⁷) took place before A.D. 51.

(4) Gallio came to Corinth in A.D. 52, so Paul must have arrived there about A.D. 50 (18¹⁻¹²).

(5) Felix became procurator of Judaea in A.D. 52. In 24¹⁰ Paul notes that he has been a ' judge ' unto the Jews for ' many years ' : But Felix had held a military position in Samaria before, and Paul may intend to include this as part of his period of official service in Palestine. The date of his recall is not exactly known, but it was probably about A.D. 56 or 58, so Paul's arrival in Rome would be about A.D. 57 or 59.

The following chronological scheme can therefore only be tentative. But it is based upon the best computations of scholars, and, though the events may not in themselves be accurately dated, their chronological relation to one another can hardly be very far wrong.

The Crucifixion. A.D. 29. This seems more or less generally accepted.

Paul's Conversion. A.D. 30, according to some, but this seems very near the Crucifixion, and hardly allows sufficient time

for all the development of Acts 1-7, especially that seen in Acts 6¹, quick as it may have been ; so a more likely date is A.D. 33. (Some would put it in A.D. 35 or 36.)

From A.D. 33-46 we should put *Paul's first visit to Jerusalem, and his work in Tarsus, Syria, Cilicia, and Antioch*, ending with the *Famine-visit* of Acts 11³⁰.

Paul in Cyprus and Galatia. A.D. 47-8, or perhaps longer.

The Council of Acts 15. A.D. 48-9.

Paul in Greece. A.D. 49-52.

Paul in Asia. A.D. 52-5.

Paul's arrest at Jerusalem. A.D. 56.

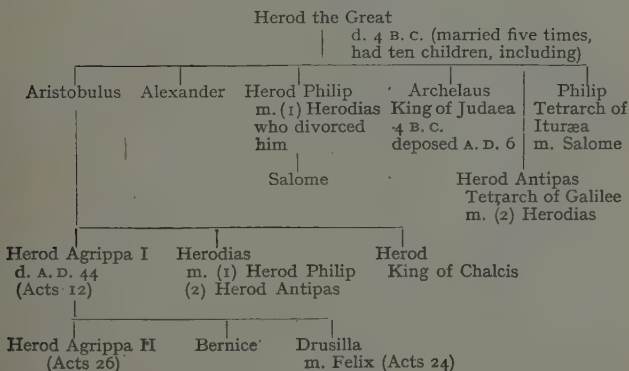
Paul at Caesarea. A.D. 56-8.

Paul's journey to Rome. A.D. 58-9.

Paul's imprisonment in Rome. A.D. 59-61.

Paul's execution. A.D. 62 ; or, if he was then released (cf. 28³⁰ note), it would be between A.D. 64 and 68.

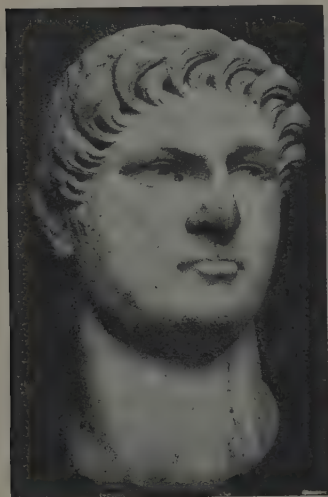
THE FAMILY OF HEROD THE GREAT



Chronology of Acts

GOVERNORS OF JUDAEA

- A.D. 26. Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judaea.
 „ 36. Marcellus.
 „ 37. Marullus.



THE EMPEROR NERO

- A.D. 41. Herod Agrippa I,
 King.
 „ 44. Cuspius Fadus, pro-
 curator of Judaea.
 „ 46. Tiberius Alexander.
 „ 48. Cumanus.
 „ 52. Felix.
 „ 58 (?) Festus.
 „ 61. Albinus.
 „ 65. Gessius Florus.

ROMAN EMPERORS

- A.D. 14. Tiberius.
 „ 37. Caligula.
 „ 41. Claudius.
 „ 54. Nero.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES

- Gal. A.D. 48-9 (or A.D.
 50-1).¹
 1 and 2 Thess. A.D. 49-50.
 1 Cor. A.D. 53.
 2 Cor. A.D. 55.
 Rom. A.D. 55.

Col., Philem., Eph. (some doubt if the last is by Paul).
 A.D. 60—(or 57).

Phil. A.D. 60.

1 Tim. (A.D. 57—or 60—or) after Paul's release.

Titus and 2 Tim. (A.D. 61—or) after Paul's release.

In their present form, many think these last three Epistles to date from about A.D. 100.

¹ The dates in parentheses are those which may on the whole be regarded as the less probable.

VI. THE MSS.

To discuss the various 'types' of text is far too elaborate and difficult a task for our purpose. It will suffice to remark that there are very few passages where the accepted reading can be very seriously doubted; and we shall only give a broadly classified list of the chief sources for the text.

(a) *The Greek Uncial MSS.*, which date from the fourth to the ninth centuries.

- (i) Codex Sinaiticus (*Aleph*).
- (ii) Codex Vaticanus. B.
- (iii) Codex Alexandrinus. A.
- (iv) Codex Ephraemi. C.
- (v) Codex Bezae. D.
- (vi) Codex Laudianus. E (bilingual : Acts alone).

(b) *The Greek cursive MSS.*, dating from the tenth century onwards.

(c) *The Versions.*

- (i) The old Latin, before A.D. 384, when Jerome produced the standard Latin text of the Vulgate. Acts is very inadequately represented in this source.

(ii) The Syriac :

- (a) the old Syriac (about A.D. 200) known to us in the Curetonian and Sinaitic MSS. But these do not include Acts.

(3) The Peshitta. Fifth century.

(iii) The Egyptian.

(d) *Quotations* in the Church fathers.

In the text of Acts the variations of the Bezan text D are very numerous and interesting. It is agreed that this text no longer exists now in its pure and original form, but that it has been corrupted by the re-casting of grammatical forms, by the substitution of synonyms, and by the incorporation of extraneous matter. It cannot be the autograph of the original writer, as it stands. But it is maintained by many textual scholars that it is derived from either the author's rough draft or a second edition for which he was mainly responsible. Certainly the Bezan readings often find support in the later Latin

ΑΛΛΑ ΖΗΤΗΣΑΤΙ ΤΟ ΣΤΟΜΑΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΝΗΧΡΥ
 ΗΣΤΕ ΕΥΘΕΟΜΕΘΩΘΗΝΑΙ
 ΚΑΘΟΝΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΚΑΚΕΙΝΟΙ
 ΣΥΝΚΑΤΑΤΕΒΕΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩ
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 ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΚΤΕΝΕΣΤΑΡΧΑΤΗΝ

CODEX BEZAE (sixth century)

Acts xv. 11-21. (Folio 477^b. Greek)

Sed per gratiam domini ihesu christi
 credimus salvi fieri
 quem admodum et illi
 desponentes autem per vos byteros
 quia ea per vos dicebantur
 si leuit que omnis multitudo
 et audiebant barnabam et paulum
 exponentes quantafecerit dominus
 signa et prodigia in centibus per ipsos
 postquam autem hiis ille ruit
 surgens iacob dixit
 uir fratres audite me
 symeon exposuit quem admodum per ipsum dominum
 prospexit ac cepit ex centibus populum
 nominis uo et siccentum
 sermones per prophetarum sicut scriptum est
 post haec autem conuertar
 et aedificabo tabernaculum dauid
 quod cecidit et quae demolitas sunt eius
 et aedificabo et erigam illud
 et exquiram residui
 hominum dominum et omnes gentes
 super quos inuocatum est nomen meum
 super ipsos dicit dominus faciens haec
 notum a saeculo est domino opus ipsius
 propter quod de corudi conuersus molesti
 his quid ecentibus conuertuntur ad dominum
 sed per ea quae per eos ut abstineant
 a contaminationibus sicut acorum
 et stirpis et sanguinem
 et quae uolunt non fieri sibi
 aliis ne faciat
 moyses enim exproce nitebuntur quis

CODEX BEZAE

Acts xv. 11-21. (Folio 478^a. Latin)

text, in quotations, and in three Greek cursive MSS., and therefore they seem to mark a general tradition of text, which had possibly been influenced by an interpolator, who had made a close study of Lukan writings, and may have possessed fragments of genuine information. It is conceded that the Bezan text shows no ecclesiastical or dogmatic tendency in its variations, and that it can be convicted of no anachronisms or inconsistencies. Its readings may sometimes be correct, and are often at least a helpful and suggestive commentary on the accepted text.

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EXCAVATION OF ANCIENT SITES
Antinoe (top) and Oxyrhynchus

[illegible]

GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW, ch. I, vv. 1-9, 12, 14-20 . A papyrus of the third century from Oxyrhynchus

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

THE DAWN OF ENLIGHTENMENT

¹ THE ¹ former treatise I made, O Theophilus, concerning all
² that Jesus began both to do and to teach, until the day in
 which he was received up, after that he had given command-
 ment through the ² Holy Ghost unto the apostles whom he
³ had chosen : to whom he also ³ shewed himself alive after his
 passion by many proofs, appearing unto them by the space of
 forty days, and speaking the things concerning the kingdom of
⁴ God : and, ⁴ being assembled together with them, he charged
 them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the
 promise of the Father, which, *said he*, ye heard from me :
⁵ for John indeed baptized with water ; but ye shall be baptized
⁵ with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.]
⁶ They therefore, when they were come together, asked him,
 saying, Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to
⁷ Israel ? And he said unto them, It is not for you to know
 times or seasons, which the Father hath ⁶ set within his own
⁸ authority. But ye shall receive power, when the Holy Ghost
 is come upon you : and ye shall be my witnesses both in Jeru-
 salem, and in all Judæa and Samaria, and unto the uttermost
⁹ part of the earth. And when he had said these things, as they
 were looking, he was taken up ; and a cloud received him out
¹⁰ of their sight. And while they were looking stedfastly into
 heaven as he went, behold, two men stood by them in white
¹¹ apparel ; which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye
 looking into heaven ? this Jesus, which was received up from
 you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye beheld
 him going into heaven.
¹² Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called
 Olivet, which is nigh unto Jerusalem, a sabbath day's journey
¹³ off. And when they were come in, they went up into the
 upper chamber, where they were abiding ; both Peter and John
 and James and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and
 Matthew, James *the son* of Alphæus, and Simon the Zealot, and

¹ Gr. *first*. ² Or, *Holy Spirit* : and so throughout this book. ³ Gr.
presented. ⁴ Or, *eating with them* ⁵ Or, *in* ⁶ Or, *appointed by*

14 Judas *the* ¹ son of James. These all with one accord continued stedfastly in prayer, ² with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.

THE WAITING CHURCH

15 And in these days Peter stood up in the midst of the brethren, and said (and there was a multitude of ³ persons
16 gathered together, about a hundred and twenty), Brethren,
Scripture it was needful that the scripture should be fulfilled,
foretells which the Holy Ghost spake before by the mouth
(a) Judas of David concerning Judas, who was guide to them
17 apostasy; that took Jesus. For he was numbered among
18 us, and received his ⁴ portion in this ministry. (Now this man obtained a field with the reward of his iniquity; and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his
19 bowels gushed out. And it became known to all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch that in their language that field was
20 called Akeldama, that is, The field of blood.) For it is written in the book of Psalms,

(b) his death and super-session. Let his habitation be made desolate,
And let no man dwell therein :
and, His ⁵ office let another take.

21 Of the men therefore which have companied with us all the
22 time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out ⁶ among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day that he was received up from us, of these must one become a witness with
23 us of his resurrection. And they put forward two, Joseph called Barsabbas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias.
24 And they prayed, and said, Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew of these two the one whom thou hast
25 chosen, to take the place in this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas fell away, that he might go to his own place.
26 And they gave lots ⁷ for them; and the lot fell upon Matthias; and he was numbered with the eleven apostles.

THE BEGINNING OF THE MISSION

2 And when the day of Pentecost ⁸ was now come, they were
2 all together in one place. And suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled

¹ Or, brother ² Or, with certain women ³ Gr. names. ⁴ Or, lot
⁵ Gr. overseership. ⁶ Or, over ⁷ Or, unto ⁸ Gr. was being fulfilled.

3 all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues ¹ parting asunder, like as of fire ; and it sat upon 4 each one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

5 Now there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, 6 from every nation under heaven. And when this sound was heard, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speaking in his own 7 language. And they were all amazed and marvelled, saying, 8 Behold, are not all these which speak Galilæans ? And how hear we, every man in our own language, wherein we were 9 born ? Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judæa and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, 10 in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and pro- 11 selytes, Cretans and Arabians, we do hear them speaking in our 12 tongues the mighty works of God. And they were all amazed, and were perplexed, saying one to another, What meaneth this ? 13 But others mocking said, They are filled with new wine.

14 But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice, and spake forth unto them, *saying*, Ye men of The miracle in 15 accord with Messianic prophecy. Judæa, and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you, and give ear unto my words. For these are not drunken, as ye suppose ; seeing it is 16 *but* the third hour of the day ; but this is that which hath been spoken ² by the prophet Joel ;

17 And it shall be in the last days, saith God,
I will pour forth of my Spirit upon all flesh :
And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,
And your young men shall see visions,
And your old men shall dream dreams :
18 Yea and on my ³ servants and on my ⁴ handmaidens in those days
Will I pour forth of my Spirit ; and they shall prophesy.
19 And I will shew wonders in the heaven above,
And signs on the earth beneath ;
Blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke :
20 The sun shall be turned into darkness,
And the moon into blood,
Before the day of the Lord come,
That great and notable *day* :

¹ Or, *parting among them* Or, *distributing themselves*

² Or, *through*

³ Gr. *bondmen*.

⁴ Gr. *bondmaidens*.

21 And it shall be, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.

22 Ye men of Israel, hear these words : Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God unto you by ¹ mighty works and

Jesus' life, death, and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the

23 resurrection prove Him being delivered up by the determinate counsel and

Messiah. foreknowledge of God, ye by the hand of ² lawless

24 men did crucify and slay : whom God raised up, having loosed the pangs of death : because it was not possible

25 Scripture fore-tellings. that he should be holden of it. For David saith concerning him,

I beheld the Lord always before my face ;

For he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved :

26 Therefore my heart was glad, and my tongue rejoiced ;

Moreover my flesh also shall ³ dwell in hope :

27 Because thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades,

Neither wilt thou give thy Holy One to see corruption.

28 Thou madest known unto me the ways of life ;

Thou shalt make me full of gladness ⁴ with thy countenance.

29 Brethren, I may say unto you freely of the patriarch David, that he both died and was buried, and his tomb is with us unto

30 this day. Being therefore a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins ⁵ he

31 would set *one* upon his throne ; he foreseeing *this* spake of the resurrection of the Christ, that neither was he left in Hades,

32 nor did his flesh see corruption. This Jesus did God raise up,

33 ⁶ whereof we all are witnesses. Being therefore ⁷ by the right

The out-pouring hand of God exalted, and having received of the

34 comes from Jesus. Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath

poured forth this, which ye see and hear. For

David ascended not into the heavens : but he saith

himself,

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand,

35 Till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.

36 Let ⁸ all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly, that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified.

37 Now when they heard *this*, they were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter and the rest of the apostles, Brethren,

38 what shall we do ? And Peter *said* unto them, Repent ye,

¹ Gr. *powers*.

² Or, *men without the law*

³ Or, *tabernacle*

⁴ Or, *in thy presence*

⁵ Or, *one should sit*

⁶ Or, *of whom*

⁷ Or, *at*

⁸ Or, *every house*

and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins ; and ye shall receive the gift
 39 of the Holy Ghost. For to you is the promise, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, *even* as many as the Lord
 40 our God shall call unto him. And with many other words he testified, and exhorted them, saying, Save yourselves from this
 41 crooked generation. They then ¹ that received his word were baptized : and there were added *unto them* in that day about
 42 three thousand souls. And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' teaching and ² fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers.

43 And fear came upon every soul : and many wonders and
 44 signs were done ³ by the apostles ⁴. And all that believed were
 45 together, and had all things common ; and they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, according as any
 46 man had need. And day by day, continuing stedfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart,
 47 praising God, and having favour with all the people. And the Lord added ⁵ to them day by day those that were being saved.

GROWTH AND OPPOSITION

3 Now Peter and John were going up into the temple at the
 2 hour of prayer, *being* the ninth hour. And a certain man that was lame from his mother's womb was carried, whom they laid daily at the door of the temple which is called Beautiful, to ask
 3 alms of them that entered into the temple ; who, seeing Peter and John about to go into the temple, asked to receive an alms.
 4 And Peter, fastening his eyes upon him, with John, said, Look
 5 on us. And he gave heed unto them, expecting to receive
 6 something from them. But Peter said, Silver and gold have I none ; but what I have, that give I thee. In the name of
 7 Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk. And he took him by the right hand, and raised him up : and immediately his feet and his
 8 ankle-bones received strength. And leaping up, he stood, and began to walk ; and he entered with them into the temple,
 9 walking, and leaping, and praising God. And all the people
 10 saw him walking and praising God : and they took knowledge of him, that it was he which sat for alms at the Beautiful Gate of the temple : and they were filled with wonder and amazement at that which had happened unto him.

¹ Or, *having received*

² Or, *in fellowship*

³ Or, *through*

⁴ Many ancient authorities add *in Jerusalem ; and great fear was upon all.*

⁵ Gr. *together.*

11 And as he held Peter and John, all the people ran together
 unto them in the ¹ porch that is called Solomon's, greatly
 12 The wondering. And when Peter saw it, he answered
 miracle unto the people, Ye men of Israel, why marvel ye
 connected at this ² man? or why fasten ye your eyes on us,
 with Jesus. as though by our own power or godliness we had
 13 made him to walk? The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and
 of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified his ³ Servant
 Jesus; whom ye delivered up, and denied before the face of
 14 Pilate, when he had determined to release him. But ye denied
 You the Holy and Righteous One, and asked for a
 15 crucified, murderer to be granted unto you, and killed the
 God raised, ⁴ Prince of life; whom God raised from the dead;
 16 Him. ⁵ whereof we are witnesses. And ⁶ by faith in his
 name hath his name made this man strong, whom ye behold
 and know: yea, the faith which is through him hath given
 17 him this perfect soundness in the presence of you all. And
 now, brethren, I wot that in ignorance ye did it, as did also your
 18 rulers. But the things which God foreshewed by
 Scripture the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ
 foretellings. should suffer, he thus fulfilled. Repent ye there-
 19 Accept fore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted
 Him as the out, that so there may come seasons of refreshing
 Messiah. from the presence of the Lord; and that he may
 20 send the Christ who hath been appointed for you, *even* Jesus:
 21 whom the heaven must receive until the times of restoration
 of all things, whereof God spake by the mouth of his holy
 22 prophets which have been since the world began. Moses
 indeed said, A prophet shall the Lord God raise up unto you
 from among your brethren, ⁷ like unto me; to him shall ye
 23 hearken in all things whatsoever he shall speak unto you. And
 it shall be, that every soul, which shall not hearken to that
 prophet, shall be utterly destroyed from among the people.
 24 Yea and all the prophets from Samuel and them that followed
 25 after, as many as have spoken, they also told of these days. Ye
 are the sons of the prophets, and of the covenant which God
⁸ made with your fathers, saying unto Abraham, And in thy
 26 seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. Unto you
 first God, having raised up his Servant, sent him to bless you,
 in turning away every one of you from your iniquities.

¹ Or, *portico* ² Or, *thing* ³ Or, *Child*, and so in ver. 26; 4^{27,30}.
 See Matt. 12¹⁸; Isa. 42¹, 52¹³, 53¹¹. ⁴ Or, *Author* ⁵ Or, *of*
 whom ⁶ Or, *on the ground of* ⁷ Or, *as he raised up me*
⁸ Gr. *covenanted*.

4 And as they spake unto the people, ¹ the priests and the captain of the temple and the Sadducees came upon them, ² being sore troubled because they taught the people, and ³ proclaimed in Jesus the resurrection from the dead. And they laid hands on them, and put them in ward unto the morrow : ⁴ for it was now eventide. But many of them that heard the word believed ; and the number of the men came to be about five thousand.

5 And it came to pass on the morrow, that their rulers and ⁶ elders and scribes were gathered together in Jerusalem ; and Annas the high priest *was there*, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high ⁷ priest. And when they had set them in the midst, they inquired, By what power, or in what name, have ye done this ? ⁸ Then Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, Ye ⁹ rulers of the people, and elders, if we this day are examined concerning a good deed done to an impotent man, ² by what ¹⁰ means this man is ³ made whole ; be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, ¹¹ *even* in ⁴ him doth this man stand here before you whole. He is the stone which was set at nought of you the builders, which ¹² was made the head of the corner. And in none other is there salvation : for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved.

¹³ Now when they beheld the boldness of Peter and John, and had perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marvelled ; and they took knowledge of them, that they had ¹⁴ been with Jesus. And seeing the man which was healed standing with them, they could say nothing against it. But when they had commanded them to go aside out of the council, they ¹⁵ conferred among themselves, saying, What shall we do to these men ? for that indeed a notable ⁵ miracle hath been wrought through them, is manifest to all that dwell in Jerusalem ; and ¹⁶ we cannot deny it. But that it spread no further among the people, let us threaten them, that they speak henceforth to no ¹⁷ man in this name. And they called them, and charged them ¹⁸ not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus. But Peter and John answered and said unto them, Whether it be right ¹⁹ in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, ²⁰ judge ye : for we cannot but speak the things which we saw ²¹ and heard. And they, when they had further threatened them,

¹ Some ancient authorities read *the chief priests*.

² Or, *in whom*

³ Or, *saved*

⁴ Or, *this name*

⁵ Gr. *sign*.

let them go, finding nothing how they might punish them, because of the people ; for all men glorified God for that which
 22 was done. For the man was more than forty years old, on whom this ¹ miracle of healing was wrought.

23 And being let go, they came to their own company, and reported all that the chief priests and the elders had said unto
 24 them. And they, when they heard it, lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, O ² Lord, ³ thou that didst make the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that in them is :
 25 ⁴ who by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of our father David thy servant, didst say,

Why did the Gentiles rage,
 And the peoples ⁵ imagine vain things ?

26 The kings of the earth set themselves in array,
 And the rulers were gathered together,
 Against the Lord, and against his ⁶ Anointed :

27 for of a truth in this city against thy holy Servant Jesus, whom thou didst anoint, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the
 28 Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, were gathered together, to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel foreordained to come
 29 to pass. And now, Lord, look upon their threatenings : and grant unto thy ⁷ servants to speak thy word with all boldness,
 30 while thou stretchest forth thy hand to heal ; and that signs and wonders may be done through the name of thy holy
 31 Servant Jesus. And when they had prayed, the place was shaken wherein they were gathered together ; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God with boldness.

32 And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul : and not one *of them* said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own ; but they had all things common. And with great power gave the apostles their witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus ⁸ : and great grace was upon
 34 them all. For neither was there among them any that lacked : for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them,
 35 and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostles' feet : and distribution was made unto each, according as any one had need.

36 And Joseph, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas (which is, being interpreted, Son of ⁹ exhortation), a Levite,

¹ Gr. *sign*

² Or, *Master*

³ Or, *thou art he that did make*

⁴ The Greek text in this clause is somewhat uncertain.

⁵ Or, *meditate*

⁶ Gr. *Christ*.

⁷ Gr. *bondservants*.

⁸ Some ancient authorities

add *Christ*.

⁹ Or, *consolation*



JERUSALEM. Inside a Jewish synagogue, showing holy place and reader's platform

37 a man of Cyprus by race, having a field, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet.

5 But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a possession, and kept back *part* of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the apostles' feet. But Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thy heart to ¹ lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back *part* of the price of the land? Whiles it remained, did it not remain thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thy power? How is it that thou hast conceived this thing in thy heart? thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God. And Ananias hearing these words fell down and gave up the ghost: and great fear came upon all that heard it. And the ² young men arose and wrapped him round, and they carried him out and buried him.

7 And it was about the space of three hours after, when his wife, not knowing what was done, came in. And Peter answered unto her, Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much. And she said, Yea, for so much. But Peter *said* unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and they shall carry thee out. And she fell down immediately at his feet, and gave up the ghost: and the young men came in and found her dead, and they carried her out and buried her by her husband. And great fear came upon the whole church, and upon all that heard these things.

12 And by the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people; and they were all with one accord in Solomon's porch. But of the rest durst no man join himself to them: howbeit the people magnified them; ³ and believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women; insomuch that they even carried out the sick into the streets; and laid them on beds and couches, that, as Peter came by, at the least his shadow might overshadow some one of them. And there also came together the multitude from the cities round about Jerusalem, bringing sick folk, and them that were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed every one.

17 But the high priest rose up, and all they that were with him (which is the sect of the Sadducees), and they were filled with jealousy, and laid hands on the apostles, and put them in public ward. But an angel of the Lord by night opened the

¹ Or, *deceive* ² Gr. *younger*.
added to them, believing on the Lord

³ Or, *and there were the more*

20 prison doors, and brought them out, and said, Go ye, and stand
and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this Life.
21 And when they heard *this*, they entered into the temple about
daybreak, and taught. But the high priest came, and they
that were with him, and called the council together, and all the
senate of the children of Israel, and sent to the prison-house to
22 have them brought. But the officers that came found them not
23 in the prison; and they returned, and told, saying, The
prison-house we found shut in all safety, and the keepers
standing at the doors: but when we had opened, we found no
24 man within. Now when the captain of the temple and the
chief priests heard these words, they were much perplexed
25 concerning them whereunto this would grow. And there came
one and told them, Behold, the men whom ye put in the prison
26 are in the temple standing and teaching the people. Then
went the captain with the officers, and brought them, *but*
without violence; for they feared the people, lest they should
27 be stoned. And when they had brought them, they set them
28 before the council. And the high priest asked them, saying, We
straitly charged you not to teach in this name: and behold,
ye have filled Jerusalem with your teaching, and intend to
29 bring this man's blood upon us. But Peter and the apostles
30 answered and said, We must obey God rather than men. The
God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, hanging him
31 on a tree. Him did God exalt ¹ with his right hand *to be* a
Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and
32 remission of sins. And we are witnesses ² of these ³ things;
⁴ and *so is* the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that
obey him.
33 But they, when they heard this, were cut to the heart, and
34 were minded to slay them. But there stood up one in the
council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had
in honour of all the people, and commanded to put the men
35 forth a little while. And he said unto them, Ye men of Israel,
take heed to yourselves as touching these men, what ye are
36 about to do. For before these days rose up Theudas, giving
himself out to be somebody; to whom a number of men, about
four hundred, joined themselves: who was slain; and all, as
many as obeyed him, were dispersed, and came to nought.
37 After this man rose up Judas of Galilce in the days of the
enrolment, and drew away *some of the* people after him: he

¹ Or, *at*
sayings.

² Some ancient authorities add *in him.*

³ Gr.

⁴ Some ancient authorities read *and God hath given the Holy Ghost to them that obey him.*

also perished ; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered
 38 abroad. And now I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and
 let them alone : for if this counsel or this work be of men, it
 39 will be overthrown : but if it is of God, ye will not be able to
 overthrow them ; lest haply ye be found even to be fighting
 40 against God. And to him they agreed : and when they had
 called the apostles unto them, they beat them and charged
 them not to speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go.
 41 They therefore departed from the presence of the council,
 rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer dishonour
 42 for the Name. And every day, in the temple and at home, they
 ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus as the Christ.

EMERGENCE OF A DISTINCTIVE CHRISTIANITY

6 Now in these days, when the number of the disciples was
 multiplying, there arose a murmuring of the ¹ Grecian Jews
 against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in
 2 the daily ministration. And the twelve called the multitude
 of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not ² fit that we
 3 should forsake the word of God, and ³ serve tables. ⁴ Look
 ye out therefore, brethren, from among you seven men of good
 report, full of the Spirit and of wisdom, whom we may appoint
 4 over this business. But we will continue stedfastly in prayer,
 5 and in the ministry of the word. And the saying pleased the
 whole multitude : and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith
 and of the Holy Spirit, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor,
 and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch :
 6 whom they set before the apostles : and when they had prayed,
 they laid their hands on them.

7 And the word of God increased ; and the number of the dis-
 ciples multiplied in Jerusalem exceedingly ; and a great com-
 pany of the priests were obedient to the faith.

8 And Stephen, full of grace and power, wrought great wonders
 9 and signs among the people. But there arose certain of them
 that were of the synagogue called *the synagogue* of the Liber-
 tines, and of the Cyrenians, and of the Alexandrians, and of them
 10 of Cilicia and Asia, disputing with Stephen. And they were not
 able to withstand the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spake.
 11 Then they suborned men, which said, We have heard him speak
 12 blasphemous words against Moses, and *against* God. And they
 stirred up the people, and the elders, and the scribes, and came
 upon him, and seized him, and brought him into the council,

¹ Gr. *Hellenists*.

² Gr. *pleasing*.

³ Or, *minister to tables*

⁴ Some ancient authorities read *But, brethren, look ye out from among you*.

13 and set up false witnesses, which said, This man ceaseth not to
 14 speak words against this holy place, and the law : for we have
 heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this
 place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered unto
 15 us. And all that sat in the council, fastening their eyes on
 him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel.

2 **7** And the high priest said; Are these things so ? And he
 said,

God's dealings 3 outside the Holy Land. 4 thee. 5 God 6 child. 7 8 The pro- mise was before the 9 covenant. 10 Joseph by his brethren. 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	Brethren and fathers, hearken. The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Haran, and said unto him, Get thee out of thy land, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall shew thee. Then came he out of the land of the Chaldæans, and dwelt in Haran : and from thence, when his father was dead, God removed him into this land, wherein ye now dwell : and he gave him none inheritance in it, no, not so much as to set his foot on : and he promised that he would give it to him in possession, and to his seed after him, when <i>as yet</i> he had no child. And God spake on this wise, that his seed should so- journ in a strange land, and that they should bring them into bondage, and entreat them evil, four hundred years. And the nation to which they shall be in bondage will I judge, said God : and after that shall they come forth, and serve me in this place. And he gave him the covenant of circumcision : and so <i>Abraham</i> begat Isaac, and circumcised him the eighth day ; and Isaac <i>begat</i> Jacob, and Jacob the twelve patriarchs. And the patriarchs, moved Rejection of with jealousy against Joseph, sold him into Egypt : and God was with him, and delivered him out of all his afflictions, and gave him favour and wisdom before Pharaoh king of Egypt ; and he made him governor over Egypt and all his house. Now there came a famine over all Egypt and Canaan, and great affliction : and our fathers found no sustenance. But when Jacob heard that there was corn in Egypt, he sent forth our fathers the first time. And at the second time Joseph was made known to his brethren ; and Joseph's race became manifest unto Pharaoh. And Joseph sent, and called to him Jacob his father, and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen souls. And Jacob went down into Egypt ; and he died, himself, and our fathers ; and they were carried over unto Shechem, and laid in the tomb that Abraham bought for a price in silver of the sons of ¹ Hamor in Shechem. But as the time of
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¹ Gr. *Emmor*.

the promise drew nigh, which God vouchsafed unto Abraham,
 18 the people grew and multiplied in Egypt, till there arose another
 19 king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph. The same dealt
 subtilly with our race, and evil entreated our fathers, that
 1 they should cast out their babes to the end they might not
 20 2 live. At which season Moses was born, and was 3 exceeding
 fair ; and he was nourished three months in his father's house :
 21 and when he was cast out, Pharaoh's daughter took him up,
 22 and nourished him for her own son. And Moses was instructed
 in all the wisdom of the Egyptians ; and he was mighty in his
 23 words and works. But when he was well-nigh forty years old,
 it came into his heart to visit his brethren the children of Israel.
 24 And seeing one of *them* suffer wrong, he defended him, and
 25 avenged him that was oppressed, smiting the Egyptian : and
 he supposed that his brethren understood how that God by his
 hand was giving them 4 deliverance ; but they understood not.
 26 And the day following he appeared unto them as they strove,
 and would have set them at one again, saying, Sirs, ye are
 27 Rejection brethren ; why do ye wrong one to another ? But he
 of Moses that did his neighbour wrong thrust him away,
 28 by the saying, Who made thee a ruler and a judge over
 people. us ? Wouldest thou kill me, as thou killedst the
 29 Egyptian yesterday ? And Moses fled at this saying, and
 became a sojourner in the land of Midian, where he begat
 30 two sons. And when forty years were fulfilled, an angel
 appeared to him in the wilderness of mount Sinai, in a flame
 31 of fire in a bush. And when Moses saw it, he wondered
 at the sight : and as he drew near to behold, there came
 32 a voice of the Lord, I am the God of thy fathers, the God of
 Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob. And Moses trembled,
 33 and durst not behold. And the Lord said unto him, Loose the
 shoes from thy feet : for the place whereon thou standest is
 34 holy ground. I have surely seen the affliction of my people
 which is in Egypt, and have heard their groaning, and I am come
 down to deliver them : and now come, I will send thee into
 35 Egypt. This Moses whom they refused, saying, Who made
 thee a ruler and a judge ? him hath God sent *to be* both a ruler
 and a 5 deliverer with the hand of the angel which appeared to
 36 him in the bush. This man led them forth, having wrought
 wonders and signs in Egypt, and in the Red sea, and in the
 37 wilderness forty years. This is that Moses, which said unto
 the children of Israel, A prophet shall God raise up unto you

1 Or, he
salvation

2 Gr. *be preserved alive.*
 5 Gr. *redeemer*

3 Or, *fair unto God*

4 Or,

38 from among your brethren, ¹ like unto me. This is he that was
in the ² church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to
him in the mount Sinai, and with our fathers : who received
39 living oracles to give unto us : to whom our fathers would not
be obedient, but thrust him from them, and turned back in
40 their hearts unto Egypt, saying unto Aaron, Make us gods
which shall go before us : for as for this Moses, which led us
forth out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of
41 him. And they made a calf in those days, and brought a
sacrifice unto the idol, and rejoiced in the works of their hands.
42 But God turned, and gave them up to serve the host of heaven ;
as it is written in the book of the prophets,

Did ye offer unto me slain beasts and sacrifices
Forty years in the wilderness, O house of Israel ?

43 And ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch,
And the star of the god Rephan, :
The figures which ye made to worship them :
And I will carry you away beyond Babylon.

44 The Taber- Our fathers had the tabernacle of the testimony in
nacle was before the unto Moses, that he should make it according to the
45 Temple. figure that he had seen. Which also our fathers, in
their turn, brought in with ³ Joshua when they entered on the
possession of the nations, which God thrust out before the
46 face of our fathers, unto the days of David ; who found favour
in the sight of God, and asked to find a habitation for the God
47 of Jacob. But Solomon built him a house. Howbeit the
48 Most High dwelleth not in *houses* made with hands ; as saith
the prophet,

49 The heaven is my throne,
And the earth the footstool of my feet :
What manner of house will ye build me ? saith the Lord :
Or what is the place of my rest ?

50 Did not my hand make all these things ?

51 Rejection of the pro- Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and
phets by the nation. ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost : as your
52 fathers did, so do ye. Which of the prophets did
not your fathers persecute ? and they killed them
which shewed before of the coming of the Righteous
One ; of whom ye have now become betrayers and
53 by the Jews. murderers ; ye who received the law ⁴ as it was
ordained by angels, and kept it not.

¹ Or, as he raised up me

² Or congregation

³ Gr. Jesus.

⁴ Or, as the ordinance of angels Gr. unto ordinances of angels.

54 Now when they heard these things, they were cut to the
 55 heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth. But he,
 being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up stedfastly into heaven,
 and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand
 56 of God, and said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the
 57 Son of man standing on the right hand of God. But they cried
 out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and rushed upon
 58 him with one accord; and they cast him out of the city, and
 stoned him: and the witnesses laid down their garments at
 59 the feet of a young man named Saul. And they stoned Stephen,
 calling upon *the Lord*, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my
 60 spirit. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice,
 Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. And when he had said
 8 this, he fell asleep. And Saul was consenting unto his death.
 8 And there arose on that day a great persecution against the
 church which was in Jerusalem; and they were all scattered
 abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and Samaria, except
 2 the apostles. And devout men buried Stephen, and made
 3 great lamentation over him. But Saul laid waste the church,
 entering into every house, and haling men and women com-
 mitted them to prison.

EXPANSION OF THE CHURCH

4 They therefore that were scattered abroad went about
 5 preaching the word. And Philip went down to the city of
 6 Samaria, and proclaimed unto them the Christ. And the
 multitudes gave heed with one accord unto the things that
 were spoken by Philip, when they heard, and saw the signs which
 7 he did. ¹ For *from* many of those which had unclean spirits,
 they came out, crying with a loud voice: and many that were
 8 palsied, and that were lame, were healed. And there was much
 joy in that city.
 9 But there was a certain man, Simon by name, which before-
 time in the city used sorcery, and amazed the ² people of
 10 Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: to
 whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying,
 11 This man is that power of God which is called Great. And they
 gave heed to him, because that of long time he had amazed
 12 them with his sorceries. But when they believed Philip
 preaching good tidings concerning the kingdom of God and
 the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and

¹ Or, *For many of those which had unclean spirits that cried with a loud voice came forth* ² Gr. *nation*.

13 women. And Simon also himself believed : and being baptized, he continued with Philip ; and beholding signs and great¹ miracles wrought, he was amazed.

14 Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them
15 Peter and John : who, when they were come down, prayed
16 for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost : for as yet he was fallen upon none of them : only they had been
17 baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. Then laid they
18 their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost. Now when Simon saw that through the laying on of the apostles' hands the² Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay my
19 hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said unto him, Thy silver perish with thee, because thou hast thought
20 to obtain the gift of God with money. Thou hast neither part
21 nor lot in this³ matter : for thy heart is not right before God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray the Lord,
22 if perhaps the thought of thy heart shall be forgiven thee. For I see that thou⁴ art in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of
23 iniquity. And Simon answered and said, Pray ye for me to the Lord, that none of the things which ye have spoken come upon me.

25 They therefore, when they had testified and spoken the word of the Lord, returned to Jerusalem, and preached the gospel to many villages of the Samaritans.

26 But an angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying, Arise, and go⁵ toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza : the same is desert. And he arose and went : and behold, a man of Ethiopia, a eunuch of great authority under Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, who was over all her treasure, who had come to Jerusalem for to worship ;
28 and he was returning and sitting in his chariot, and was reading
29 the prophet Isaiah. And the Spirit said unto Philip, Go near,
30 and join thyself to this chariot. And Philip ran to him, and heard him reading Isaiah the prophet, and said, Understandest
31 thou what thou readest ? And he said, How can I, except some one shall guide me ? And he besought Philip to come up
32 and sit with him. Now the place of the scripture which he was reading was this,

He was led as a sheep to the slaughter ;

¹ Gr. *powers*. ² Some ancient authorities omit *Holy*. ³ Gr. *word*.

⁴ Or, *wilt become gall* (or, *a gall root*) of bitterness and a bond of iniquity.

⁵ Or, *at noon*

And as a lamb before his shearer is dumb,
So he openeth not his mouth :

- 33 In his humiliation his judgement was taken away :
His generation who shall declare ?
For his life is taken from the earth.

34 And the eunuch answered Philip, and said, I pray thee, of whom speaketh the prophet this ? of himself, or of some other ?
35 And Philip opened his mouth, and beginning from this scripture, preached unto him Jesus. And as they went on the way, they came unto a certain water ; and the eunuch saith, Behold, *here is water* ; what doth hinder me to be baptized ?¹
38 And he commanded the chariot to stand still : and they both went down into the water, both Philip and the eunuch ; and
39 he baptized him. And when they came up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip ; and the eunuch
40 saw him no more, for he went on his way rejoicing. But Philip was found at Azotus : and passing through he preached the gospel to all the cities, till he came to Cæsarea.

9 But Saul, yet breathing threatening and slaughter against
2 the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest, and asked of him letters to Damascus unto the synagogues, that if he found any that were of the Way, whether men or women,
3 he might bring them bound to Jerusalem. And as he journeyed, it came to pass that he drew nigh unto Damascus : and suddenly
4 there shone round about him a light out of heaven : and he fell upon the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul,
5 Saul, why persecutest thou me ? And he said, Who art thou, Lord ? And he *said*, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest :
6 but rise, and enter into the city, and it shall be told thee what
7 thou must do. And the men that journeyed with him stood
8 speechless, hearing the ² voice, but beholding no man. And Saul arose from the earth ; and when his eyes were opened, he
9 saw nothing ; and they led him by the hand, and brought him
9 into Damascus. And he was three days without sight, and did neither eat nor drink.

10 Now there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named Ananias ; and the Lord said unto him in a vision, Ananias.
11 And he said, Behold, I *am here*, Lord. And the Lord *said* unto him, Arise, and go to the street which is called Straight, and inquire in the house of Judas for one named Saul, a man of

¹ Some ancient authorities insert, wholly or in part, ver. 37 *And Philip said, If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.* ² Or, *sound*

12 Tarsus : for behold, he prayeth ; and he hath seen a man
 named Ananias coming in, and laying his hands on him, that
 13 he might receive his sight. But Ananias answered, Lord, I
 have heard from many of this man, how much evil he did to
 14 thy saints at Jerusalem : and here he hath authority from the
 15 chief priests to bind all that call upon thy name. But the Lord
 said unto him, Go thy way : for he is a ¹ chosen vessel unto me,
 to bear my name before the Gentiles and kings, and the children
 16 of Israel : for I will shew him how many things he must suffer
 17 for my name's sake. And Ananias departed, and entered into
 the house ; and laying his hands on him said, Brother Saul, the
 Lord, *even* Jesus, who appeared unto thee in the way which thou
 camest, hath sent me, that thou mayest receive thy sight, and
 18 be filled with the Holy Ghost. And straightway there fell from
 his eyes as it were scales, and he received his sight ; and he
 19 arose and was baptized ; and he took food and was strength-
 ened.

And he was certain days with the disciples which were at
 20 Damascus. And straightway in the synagogues he proclaimed
 21 Jesus, that he is the Son of God. And all that heard him were
 amazed, and said, Is not this he that in Jerusalem made havock
 of them which called on this name ? and he had come hither
 for this intent, that he might bring them bound before the chief
 22 priests. But Saul increased the more in strength, and con-
 founded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this
 is the Christ.

23 And when many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel
 24 together to kill him : but their plot became known to Saul.
 And they watched the gates also day and night that they might
 25 kill him : but his disciples took him by night, and let him down
 through the wall, lowering him in a basket.

26 And when he was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join
 himself to the disciples : and they were all afraid of him, not
 27 believing that he was a disciple. But Barnabas took him, and
 brought him to the apostles, and declared unto them how he
 had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken to him,
 and how at Damascus he had preached boldly in the name of
 28 Jesus. And he was with them going in and going out at
 29 Jerusalem, preaching boldly in the name of the Lord : and
 he spake and disputed against the ² Grecian Jews ; but they
 30 went about to kill him. And when the brethren knew it, they
 brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus.

31 So the church throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria

¹ Gr. *vessel of election.*

² Gr. *Hellenists.*

had peace, being ¹ edified ; and, walking ² in the fear of the Lord and ² in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, was multiplied.

32 And it came to pass, as Peter went throughout all parts, he
33 came down also to the saints which dwelt at Lydda. And there
he found a certain man named Æneas, which had kept his bed
34 eight years ; for he was palsied. And Peter said unto him,
Æneas, Jesus Christ healeth thee : arise, and make thy bed.
35 And straightway he arose. And all that dwelt at Lydda and
in Sharon saw him, and they turned to the Lord.

36 Now there was at Joppa a certain disciple named Tabitha,
which by interpretation is called ³ Dorcas : this woman was full
37 of good works and almsdeeds which she did. And it came to
pass in those days, that she fell sick, and died : and when they
38 had washed her, they laid her in an upper chamber. And as
Lydda was nigh unto Joppa, the disciples, hearing that Peter
was there, sent two men unto him, intreating him, Delay not to
39 come on unto us. And Peter arose and went with them. And
when he was come, they brought him into the upper chamber :
and all the widows stood by him weeping, and shewing the
coats and garments which Dorcas made, while she was with
40 them. But Peter put them all forth, and kneeled down, and
prayed ; and turning to the body, he said, Tabitha, arise. And
41 she opened her eyes ; and when she saw Peter, she sat up. And
he gave her his hand, and raised her up ; and calling the saints
42 and widows, he presented her alive. And it became known
43 throughout all Joppa : and many believed on the Lord. And
it came to pass, that he abode many days in Joppa with one
Simon a tanner.

10 Now *there was* a certain man in Cæsarea, Cornelius by
2 10 name, a centurion of the band called the Italian ⁴ band, a
devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, who
gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God alway.
3 He saw in a vision openly, as it were about the ninth hour of
the day, an angel of God coming in unto him, and saying to
him, Cornelius. And he, fastening his eyes upon him, and
being affrighted, said, What is it, Lord ? And he said unto
him, Thy prayers and thine alms are gone up for a memorial
5 before God. And now send men to Joppa, and fetch one
6 Simon, who is surnamed Peter : he lodgeth with one Simon
7 a tanner, whose house is by the sea side. And when the angel
that spake unto him was departed, he called two of his house-
hold-servants, and a devout soldier of them that waited on him

¹ Gr. *buildd up*.
cohort

² Or, *by*

³ That is, *Gazelle*.

⁴ Or,



STRAIGHT STREET, DAMASCUS



BRIDGE OVER THE CYDNUS, TARSUS



ST. PAUL'S GATE, TARSUS

8 continually ; and having rehearsed all things unto them, he sent them to Joppa.

9 Now on the morrow, as they were on their journey, and drew nigh unto the city, Peter went up upon the housetop to pray, 10 about the sixth hour : and he became hungry, and desired to 11 eat : but while they made ready, he fell into a trance ; and he beholdeth the heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending, as it were a great sheet, let down by four corners upon the 12 earth : wherein were all manner of fourfooted beasts and 13 creeping things of the earth and fowls of the heaven. And there 14 came a voice to him, Rise, Peter ; kill and eat. But Peter said, Not so, Lord ; for I have never eaten anything that is 15 common and unclean. And a voice *came* unto him again the second time, What God hath cleansed, make not thou common. 16 And this was done thrice : and straightway the vessel was received up into heaven.

17 Now while Peter was much perplexed in himself what the vision which he had seen might mean, behold, the men that were sent by Cornelius, having made inquiry for Simon's house, 18 stood before the gate, and called and asked whether Simon, 19 which was surnamed Peter, were lodging there. And while Peter thought on the vision, the Spirit said unto him, Behold, 20 three men seek thee. But arise, and get thee down, and go 21 with them, nothing doubting : for I have sent them. And Peter went down to the men, and said, Behold, I am he whom ye 22 seek : what is the cause wherefore ye are come ? And they said, Cornelius a centurion, a righteous man and one that feareth God, and well reported of by all the nation of the Jews, was warned *of God* by a holy angel to send for thee into his 23 house, and to hear words from thee. So he called them in and lodged them.

And on the morrow he arose and went forth with them, and 24 certain of the brethren from Joppa accompanied him. And on the morrow ¹ they entered into Cæsarea. And Cornelius was waiting for them, having called together his kinsmen and his 25 near friends. And when it came to pass that Peter entered, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet, and worshipped 26 him. But Peter raised him up, saying, Stand up ; I myself 27 also am a man. And as he talked with him, he went in, and 28 findeth many come together : and he said unto them, Ye yourselves know ² how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to join himself or come unto one of another nation ;

¹ Some ancient authorities read *he*.
a man &c

² Or, *how unlawful it is for*

and yet unto me hath God shewed that I should not call any
 29 man common or unclean : wherefore also I came without
 gainsaying, when I was sent for. I ask therefore with what
 30 intent ye sent for me. And Cornelius said, Four days ago, until
 this hour, I was keeping the ninth hour of prayer in my house ;
 31 and behold, a man stood before me in bright apparel, and
 saith, Cornelius, thy prayer is heard, and thine alms are had in
 32 remembrance in the sight of God. Send therefore to Joppa,
 and call unto thee Simon, who is surnamed Peter : he lodgeth
 33 in the house of Simon a tanner, by the sea side. Forthwith
 therefore I sent to thee ; and thou hast well done that thou art
 come. Now therefore we are all here present in the sight of
 God, to hear all things that have been commanded thee of the

34 God is not Lord. And Peter opened his mouth, and said,
 35 national.

Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of
 36 persons : but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh
 righteousness, is acceptable to him. ¹ The word
 Jesus' life which he sent unto the children of Israel, preaching
 and resur- ² good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ (he is Lord
 rection of all)—that saying ye yourselves know, which was
 37 from death. published throughout all Judæa, beginning from

Galilee, after the baptism which John preached ; *even* Jesus of
 38 Nazareth, how that God anointed him with the Holy Ghost and
with power : who went about doing good, and healing all that
 39 were oppressed of the devil ; for God was with him. And we
 are witnesses of all things which he did both in the country of
 the Jews, and in Jerusalem ; whom also they slew, hanging
 40 him on a tree. Him God raised up the third day, and gave him
 41 to be made manifest, not to all the people, but unto witnesses
 that were chosen before of God, *even* to us, who did eat and
 42 drink with him after he rose from the dead. And
 He is thus he charged us to preach unto the people, and to
 the fore- testify that this is he which is ordained of God *to be*
 told Judge and the Judge of quick and dead. To him bear all the
 43 Saviour. prophets witness, that through his name every one
 that believeth on him shall receive remission of sins.

44 While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all
 45 them which heard the word. And they of the circumcision
 which believed were amazed, as many as came with Peter,
 because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of
 46 the Holy Ghost. For they heard them speak with tongues,
 47 and magnify God. Then answered Peter, Can any man

¹ Many ancient authorities read *He sent the word unto.*
gospel

² Or, *the*

forbid the water, that these should not be baptized, which have
48 received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded
them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ. Then prayed
they him to tarry certain days.

11 Now the apostles and the brethren that were in Judæa
heard that the Gentiles also had received the word of
2 God. And when Peter was come up to Jerusalem, they that
3 were of the circumcision contended with him, saying, Thou
wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them.
4 But Peter began, and expounded *the matter* unto them in order,
5 saying, I was in the city of Joppa praying: and in a trance
I saw a vision, a certain vessel descending, as it were a great
6 sheet let down from heaven by four corners; and it came
even unto me: upon the which when I had fastened mine
eyes, I considered, and saw the fourfooted beasts of the
earth and wild beasts and creeping things and fowls of the
7 heaven. And I heard also a voice saying unto me, Rise, Peter;
8 kill and eat. But I said, Not so, Lord: for nothing common
9 or unclean hath ever entered into my mouth. But a voice
answered the second time out of heaven, What God hath
10 cleansed, make not thou common. And this was done thrice:
11 and all were drawn up again into heaven. And behold, forth-
with three men stood before the house in which we were,
12 having been sent from Cæsarea unto me. And the Spirit bade
me go with them, making no distinction. And these six
brethren also accompanied me; and we entered into the man's
13 house: and he told us how he had seen the angel standing
in his house, and saying, Send to Joppa, and fetch Simon,
14 whose surname is Peter; who shall speak unto thee words,
15 whereby thou shalt be saved, thou and all thy house. And
as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, even as on
16 us at the beginning. And I remembered the word of the Lord,
how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye
17 shall be baptized ¹ with the Holy Ghost. If then God gave
unto them the like gift as *he did* also unto us, when we believed
on the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I, that I could withstand
18 God? And when they heard these things, they held their
peace, and glorified God, saying, Then to the Gentiles also
hath God granted repentance unto life.
19 They therefore that were scattered abroad upon the tribula-
tion that arose about Stephen travelled as far as Phœnicia,
and Cyprus, and Antioch, speaking the word to none save
20 only to Jews. But there were some of them, men of Cyprus

¹ Or, *in*

and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto
 21 the ¹ Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of
 the Lord was with them : and a great number that believed
 22 turned unto the Lord. And the report concerning them came
 to the ears of the church which was in Jerusalem : and they
 23 sent forth Barnabas as far as Antioch : who, when he was
 come, and had seen the grace of God, was glad ; and he
 exhorted them all, ² that with purpose of heart they would
 24 cleave unto the Lord : for he was a good man, and full of the
 Holy Ghost and of faith : and much people was added unto
 25 the Lord. And he went forth to Tarsus to seek for Saul :
 26 and when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch.

And it came to pass, that even for a whole year they were
 gathered together ³ with the church, and taught much people ;
 and that the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.

27 Now in these days there came down prophets from Jerusalem
 28 unto Antioch. And there stood up one of them named Agabus,
 and signified by the Spirit that there should be a great famine
 over all ⁴ the world : which came to pass in the days of Claudius.
 29 And the disciples, every man according to his ability, deter-
 mined to send ⁵ relief unto the brethren that dwelt in Judæa ;
 30 which also they did, sending it to the elders by the hand of
 Barnabas and Saul.

12 Now about that time Herod the king put forth his hands
 2 to afflict certain of the church. And he killed James the
 3 brother of John with the sword. And when he saw that it
 pleased the Jews, he proceeded to seize Peter also. And *those*
 4 were the days of unleavened bread. And when he had taken
 him, he put him in prison, and delivered him to four quaternions
 of soldiers to guard him ; intending after the Passover to
 5 bring him forth to the people. Peter therefore was kept in
 the prison : but prayer was made earnestly of the church unto
 6 God for him. And when Herod was about to bring him forth,
 the same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers,
 bound with two chains : and guards before the door kept the
 7 prison. And behold, an angel of the Lord stood by him, and
 a light shined in the cell : and he smote Peter on the side, and
 awoke him, saying, Rise up quickly. And his chains fell off
 8 from his hands. And the angel said unto him, Gird thyself,
 and bind on thy sandals. And he did so. And he saith unto
 9 him, Cast thy garment about thee, and follow me. And he

¹ Many ancient authorities read *Grecian Jews*. ² Some ancient
 authorities read *that they would cleave unto the purpose of their heart in*
the Lord. ³ Gr. *in.* ⁴ Gr. *the inhabited earth.* ⁵ Gr. *for ministry.*

went out, and followed; and he wist not that it was true which was done ¹ by the angel, but thought he saw a vision.

10 And when they were past the first and the second ward, they came unto the iron gate that leadeth into the city; which opened to them of its own accord: and they went out, and passed on through one street; and straightway the angel departed from

11 him. And when Peter was come to himself, he said, Now I know of a truth, that the Lord hath sent forth his angel and delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the

12 expectation of the people of the Jews. And when he had considered *the thing*, he came to the house of Mary the mother of John whose surname was Mark; where many were gathered

13 together and were praying. And when he knocked at the door

14 of the gate, a maid came to answer, named Rhoda. And when she knew Peter's voice, she opened not the gate for joy, but

15 ran in, and told that Peter stood before the gate. And they said unto her, Thou art mad. But she confidently affirmed

16 that it was even so. And they said, It is his angel. But Peter continued knocking: and when they had opened, they saw

17 him, and were amazed. But he, beckoning unto them with the hand to hold their peace, declared unto them how the Lord had brought him forth out of the prison. And he said, Tell these things unto James, and to the brethren. And he departed, and went to another place. Now as soon as it was

18 day, there was no small stir among the soldiers, what was become of Peter. And when Herod had sought for him, and found him not, he examined the guards, and commanded that they should be ² put to death. And he went down from Judæa to Cæsarea, and tarried there.

20 Now he was highly displeased with them of Tyre and Sidon: and they came with one accord to him, and, having made Blastus the king's chamberlain their friend, they asked for peace, because their country was fed from the king's

21 country. And upon a set day Herod arrayed himself in royal apparel, and sat on the ³ throne, and made an oration unto

22 them. And the people shouted, *saying*, The voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately an angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost.

24 But the word of God grew and multiplied.

25 And Barnabas and Saul returned ⁴ from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministration, taking with them John whose surname was Mark.

Herod died

f. 11

¹ Or, *through*

² Gr. *led away to death*.

³ Or, *judgement-seat*

⁴ Many ancient authorities read *to Jerusalem*.



OLD PAPHOS, WITH RUINS OF TEMPLE OF APHRODITE

THE CHURCH THROWN OPEN TO GENTILES

13 Now there were at Antioch, in the church that was *there*, prophets and teachers, Barnabas, and Symeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen the foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. And as they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. Then, when they had fasted and prayed and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.

So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, went down to Seleucia; and from thence they sailed to Cyprus. And when they were at Salamis, they proclaimed the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews: and they had also John as their attendant. And when they had gone through the whole island unto Paphos, they found a certain ¹ sorcerer, a false prophet, a Jew, whose name was Bar-Jesus; which was with the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, a man of understanding. The same called unto him Barnabas and Saul, and sought to hear the word of God. But Elymas the ¹ sorcerer (for so is his name by interpretation) withstood them, seeking to turn aside the proconsul from the faith. But Saul, who is also *called* Paul, filled with the Holy Ghost, fastened his eyes on him, and said, O full of all guile and all villany, thou son of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? And now, behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun ² for a season. And immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness; and he went about seeking some to lead him by the hand. Then the proconsul, when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the teaching of the Lord.

Now Paul and his company set sail from Paphos, and came to Perga in Pamphylia: and John departed from them and returned to Jerusalem. But they, passing through from Perga, came to Antioch of Pisidia; and they went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and sat down. And after the reading of the law and the prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. And Paul stood up, and beckoning with the hand said,

Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, hearken. The God of this people Israel chose our fathers, and exalted the people

¹ Gr. *Magus*.² Or, *until*

when they sojourned in the land of Egypt, and with a high
 18 God's pre- arm led he them forth out of it. And for about
 preparation the time of forty years ¹ suffered he their manners
 19 for a in the wilderness. And when he had destroyed
 Davidic seven nations in the land of Canaan, he gave
 Messiah. *them* their land for an inheritance, for about
 20 four hundred and fifty years : and after these things he gave
 21 *them* judges until Samuel the prophet. And afterward they
 asked for a king : and God gave unto them Saul the son of
 Kish, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, for the space of forty
 22 years. And when he had removed him, he raised up David
 to be their king ; to whom also he bare witness, and said,
 I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after my heart,
 23 who shall do all my ² will. Of this man's seed hath
 Jesus is the God according to promise brought unto Israel
 Messiah. a Saviour, Jesus ; when John had first preached
 24 ³ before his coming the baptism of repentance to all the people
 25 of Israel. And as John was fulfilling his course, he said, What
 suppose ye that I am ? I am not *he*. But behold, there
 cometh one after me, the shoes of whose feet I am not worthy
 26 to unloose. Brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and
 those among you that fear God, to us is the word of this
 27 His Death salvation sent forth. For they that dwell in
 and Resur- Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him
 rection not, nor the voices of the prophets which are read
 foretold in every sabbath, fulfilled *them* by condemning *him*.
 Scripture. And though they found no cause of death *in him*,
 28 yet asked they of Pilate that he should be slain. And when
 they had fulfilled all things that were written of him, they took
 29 him down from the tree, and laid him in a tomb. But God
 30 raised him from the dead : and he was seen for many days
 31 of them that came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem,
 32 who are now his witnesses unto the people. And we bring
 33 you good tidings of the promise made unto the fathers, how
 that God hath fulfilled the same unto our children, in that he
 raised up Jesus ; as also it is written in the second psalm,
 34 Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. And as con-
 cerning that he raised him up from the dead, now no more to
 return to corruption, he hath spoken on this wise, I will give
 35 you the holy and sure *blessings* of David. Because he saith
 also in another *psalm*, Thou wilt not give thy Holy One to see

¹ Many ancient authorities read *bare he them as a nursing-father in the wilderness.* ² Gr. *wills.* ³ Gr. *before the face of his entering in.*



ST. PAUL (on the right) AND ST. MARK
By Albrecht Dürer

36 corruption. For David, after he had ¹ in his own generation
 served the counsel of God, fell on sleep, and was laid unto his
 37 fathers, and saw corruption: but he whom God raised up
 38 By Him is saw no corruption. Be it known unto you therefore,
 given remis- brethren, that through this man is proclaimed unto
 39 sion and you remission of sins: and by him every one that
 justification. believeth is justified from all things, from which
 40 ye could not be justified by the law of Moses. Beware there-
 fore, lest that come upon *you*, which is spoken in the prophets;
 41 Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and ² perish;

For I work a work in your days,

A work which ye shall in no wise believe, if one declare it
 unto you.

42 And as they went out, they besought that these words might
 43 be spoken to them the next sabbath. Now when the synagogue
 broke up, many of the Jews and of the devout proselytes
 followed Paul and Barnabas: who, speaking to them, urged
 them to continue in the grace of God.

44 And the next sabbath almost the whole city was gathered
 45 together to hear the word of ³ God. But when the Jews saw
 the multitudes, they were filled with jealousy, and contradicted
 the things which were spoken by Paul, and ⁴ blasphemed.

46 And Paul and Barnabas spake out boldly, and said, It was
 necessary that the word of God should first be spoken to you.
 Seeing ye thrust it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy
 47 of eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles. For so hath the
 Lord commanded us, *saying*,

I have set thee for a light of the Gentiles,

That thou shouldest be for salvation unto the uttermost
 part of the earth.

48 And as the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified
 the word of ⁵ God: and as many as were ordained to eternal life
 49 believed. And the word of the Lord was spread abroad
 50 throughout all the region. But the Jews urged on the devout
 women of honourable estate, and the chief men of the city,
 and stirred up a persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and
 51 cast them out of their borders. But they shook off the dust
 52 of their feet against them, and came unto Iconium. And the
 disciples were filled with joy and with the Holy Ghost.

¹ Or, *served his own generation by the counsel of God, fell on sleep*
 Or, *served his own generation, fell on sleep by the counsel of God*

² Or, *vanish away*

³ Many ancient authorities read *the Lord*.

⁴ Or, *railed*

⁵ Many ancient authorities read *the Lord*.



VIEW FROM PISIDIAN ANTIOCH



DEDICATORY TABLETS TO THE MOON GOD
A ruined temple overlooking Pisidian Antioch



NEW PAPHOS Column to which St. Paul is said to have been bound



ICONIUM General View of modern Konia

14 And it came to pass in Iconium, that they entered together into the synagogue of the Jews, and so spake, that a great multitude both of Jews and of Greeks believed.
 2 But the Jews that were disobedient stirred up the souls of the Gentiles, and made them evil affected against the brethren.
 3 Long time therefore they tarried *there* speaking boldly in the Lord, which bare witness unto the word of his grace, granting
 4 signs and wonders to be done by their hands. But the multitude of the city was divided; and part held with the Jews,
 5 and part with the apostles. And when there was made an onset both of the Gentiles and of the Jews with their rulers,
 6 to entreat them shamefully, and to stone them, they became aware of it, and fled unto the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra and
 7 Derbe, and the region round about: and there they preached the gospel.
 8 And at Lystra there sat a certain man, impotent in his feet,
 9 a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had walked. The same heard Paul speaking: who, fastening his eyes upon him,
 10 and seeing that he had faith to be ¹made whole, said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped up
 11 and walked. And when the multitudes saw what Paul had done, they lifted up their voice, saying in the speech of Lycaonia,
 12 The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men. And they called Barnabas, ² Jupiter; and Paul, ³ Mercury, because
 13 he was the chief speaker. And the priest of ² Jupiter whose *temple* was before the city, brought oxen and garlands unto the
 14 gates, and would have done sacrifice with the multitudes. But when the apostles, Barnabas and Paul, heard of it, they rent
 15 their garments, and sprang forth among the multitude, crying out and saying, Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men
 of like ⁴passions with you, and bring you good tidings, that ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God, who
 made the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that in
 16 them is: who in the generations gone by suffered all the
 17 nations to walk in their own ways. And yet he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave you
 from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with
 18 food and gladness. And with these sayings scarce restrained they the multitudes from doing sacrifice unto them.
 19 But there came Jews thither from Antioch and Iconium: and having persuaded the multitudes, they stoned Paul, and
 dragged him out of the city, supposing that he was dead.
 20 But as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up, and

¹ Or, *saved*² Gr. *Zeus*.³ Gr. *Hermes*.⁴ Or, *nature*

entered into the city : and on the morrow he went forth with
 21 Barnabas to Derbe. And when they had preached the gospel
 to that city, and had made many disciples, they returned to
 22 Lystra, and to Iconium, and to Antioch, confirming the souls
 of the disciples, exhorting them to continue in the faith, and
 that through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom
 23 of God. And when they had appointed for them elders in
 every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended
 24 them to the Lord, on whom they had believed. And they
 25 passed through Pisidia, and came to Pamphylia. And when
 they had spoken the word in Perga, they went down to Attalia ;
 26 and thence they sailed to Antioch, from whence they had been
 committed to the grace of God for the work which they had
 27 fulfilled. And when they were come, and had gathered the
 church together, they rehearsed all things that God had done
 with them, and how that he had opened a door of faith unto
 28 the Gentiles. And they tarried no little time with the dis-
 ciples."

15 And certain men came down from Judæa and taught
 the brethren, saying, Except ye be circumcised after
 2 the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved. And when Paul
 and Barnabas had no small dissension and questioning with
 them, *the brethren* appointed that Paul and Barnabas, and
 certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the
 3 apostles and elders about this question. They therefore,
 being brought on their way by the church, passed through
 both Phœnicia and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the
 Gentiles : and they caused great joy unto all the brethren.
 4 And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of
 the church and the apostles and the elders, and they rehearsed
 5 all things that God had done with them. But there rose up
 certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed, saying, It is
 needful to circumcise them, and to charge them to keep the
 law of Moses.

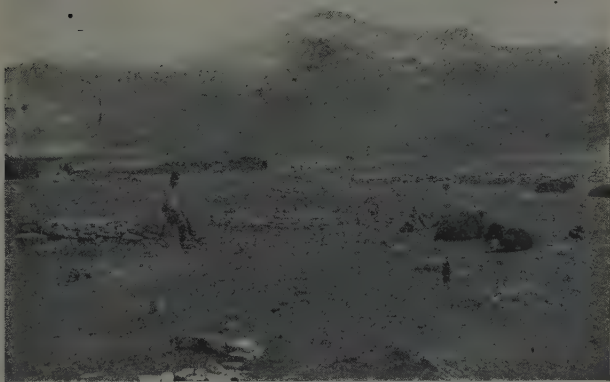
6 And the apostles and the elders were gathered together to
 7 consider of this matter. And when there had been much
 questioning, Peter rose up, and said unto them,

Brethren, ye know how that ¹ a good while ago God made
 choice among you, that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear
 8 the word of the gospel, and believe. And God, which knoweth
 the heart, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost,
 9 even as he did unto us ; and he made no distinction between
 10 us and them, cleansing their hearts by faith. Now therefore

¹ Gr. *from early days.*



KARAMAN (LARANDA) Ancient Derbe



KHATYN SERAI Site of Lystra View of Baba Dag behind



ATTALIA Town walls with Hadrian's Gate to left



ATTALIA The Harbour

why tempt ye God, that ye should put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to
11 bear? But we believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus, in like manner as they.

12 And all the multitude kept silence; and they hearkened unto Barnabas and Paul rehearsing what signs and wonders
13 God had wrought among the Gentiles by them. And after they had held their peace, James answered, saying,

14 Brethren, hearken unto me: Symeon hath rehearsed how first God did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people
15 for his name. And to this agree the words of the prophets; as it is written,

16 After these things I will return,
And I will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen;

And I will build again the ruins thereof,

And I will set it up:

17 That the residue of men may seek after the Lord,
And all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called,

18 Saith the Lord, ¹ who maketh these things known from the beginning of the world.

19 Wherefore my judgement is, that we trouble not them which
20 from among the Gentiles turn to God; but that we ² write unto them, that they abstain from the pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from what is strangled, and from blood.

21 For Moses from generations of old hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath.

22 Then it seemed good to the apostles and the elders, with the whole church, to choose men out of their company, and send them to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas; *namely*, Judas called Barsabbas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren:

23 and they wrote *thus* by them, The apostles and the elder brethren unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria

24 and Cilicia, greeting: Forasmuch as we have heard that certain ³ which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls; to whom we gave no commandment;

25 it seemed good unto us, having come to one accord, to choose out men and send them unto you with our beloved Barnabas

26 and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for the name

27 of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who themselves also shall tell you the same things by

28 word of mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and

¹ Or, *who doeth these things* which were known

² Or, *enjoin them*

³ Some ancient authorities omit *which went out*.

to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication; from which if ye keep yourselves, it shall be well with you. Fare ye well.

So they, when they were dismissed, came down to Antioch; and having gathered the multitude together, they delivered the epistle. And when they had read it, they rejoiced for the ¹ consolation. And Judas and Silas, being themselves also prophets, ² exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them. And after they had spent some time *there*, they were dismissed in peace from the brethren unto those that had sent them forth.³ But Paul and Barnabas tarried in Antioch, teaching and preaching the word of the Lord, with many others also.

missionary

PAUL IN GREECE

And after some days Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us return now and visit the brethren in every city wherein we proclaimed the word of the Lord, *and see* how they fare. And Barnabas was minded to take with them John also, who was called Mark. But Paul thought not good to take with them him who withdrew from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. And there arose a sharp contention, so that they parted asunder one from the other, and Barnabas took Mark with him, and sailed away unto Cyprus; but Paul chose Silas, and went forth, being commended by the brethren to the grace of the Lord. And he went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches.

16 And he came also to Derbe and to Lystra: and behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timothy, the son of a Jewess which believed; but his father was a Greek. The same was well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium. Him would Paul have to go forth with him; and he took and circumcised him because of the Jews that were in those parts: for they all knew that his father was a Greek. And as they went on their way through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, which had been ordained of the apostles and elders that were at Jerusalem. So the churches were strengthened in the faith, and increased in number daily.

¹ Or, *exhortation* ² Or, *comforted* ³ Some ancient authorities insert, with variations, ver. 34 *But it seemed good unto Silas to abide there.*

6 And they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in
7 Asia ; and when they were come over against Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia ; and the Spirit of Jesus suffered
8 them not ; and passing by Mysia, they came down to Troas.
9 And a vision appeared to Paul in the night ; There was a man of Macedonia standing, beseeching him, and saying, Come over
10 into Macedonia, and help us. || And when he had seen the vision, straightway we sought to go forth into Macedonia, concluding that God had called us for to preach the gospel unto them.

11 Setting sail therefore from Troas, we made a straight course
12 to Samothrace, and the day following to Neapolis ; and from thence to Philippi, which is a city of Macedonia, the first of the district, a *Roman* colony : and we were in this city tarrying
13 certain days. And on the sabbath day we went forth without the gate by a river side, where we supposed there was a place of prayer ; and we sat down, and spake unto the women which
14 were come together. And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, one that worshipped God, heard us : whose heart the Lord opened, to give heed
15 unto the things which were spoken by Paul. And when she was baptized, and her household, she besought us, saying, If ye have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come into my house, and abide *there*. And she constrained us.

16 And it came to pass, as we were going to the place of prayer, that a certain maid having ¹ a spirit of divination met us, which
17 brought her masters much gain by soothsaying. The same following after Paul and us cried out, saying, These men are
² servants of the Most High God, which proclaim unto you ³ the
18 way of salvation.|| And this she did for many days. But Paul, being sore troubled, turned and said to the spirit, I charge thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And it came out that very hour.

19 But when her masters saw that the hope of their gain was
⁴ gone, they laid hold on Paul and Silas, and dragged them into
20 the marketplace before the rulers, and when they had brought them unto the ⁵ magistrates, they said, These men, being Jews,
21 do exceedingly trouble our city, and set forth customs which it is not lawful for us to receive, or to observe, being Romans.
22 And the multitude rose up together against them : and the
⁵ magistrates rent their garments off them, and commanded

¹ Gr. a spirit, a Python.² Gr. bondservants.³ Or, a way⁴ Gr. come out.⁵ Gr. prætors.

|| 'We' section.

23 to beat them with rods. And when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, charging the jailor to
 24 keep them safely : who, having received such a charge, cast them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the
 25 stocks. But about midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns unto God, and the prisoners were listening to
 26 them ; and suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison-house were shaken : and immediately all the doors were opened ; and every one's bands were
 27 loosed. And the jailor being roused out of sleep, and seeing the prison doors open, drew his sword, and was about to kill
 28 himself, supposing that the prisoners had escaped. But Paul cried with a loud voice, saying, Do thyself no harm : for we are
 29 all here. And he called for lights, and sprang in, and, trembling for fear, fell down before Paul and Silas, and brought them out,
 30 and said, Sirs, what must I do to be saved ? And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and
 32 thy house. And they spake the word of ¹ the Lord unto him, with all that were in his house. And he took them the same
 33 hour of the night, and washed their stripes ; and was baptized, he and all his, immediately. And he brought them up into his house, and set ² meat before them, and rejoiced greatly, with all his house, ³ having believed in God.

35 But when it was day, the ⁴ magistrates sent the ⁵ serjeants, saying, Let those men go. And the jailor reported the words to Paul, saying, The ⁴ magistrates have sent to let you go : now
 37 therefore come forth, and go in peace. But Paul said unto them, They have beaten us publicly, uncondemned, men that are Romans, and have cast us into prison ; and do they now cast us out privily ? nay verily ; but let them come themselves and
 38 bring us out. And the ⁵ serjeants reported these words unto the ⁴ magistrates : and they feared, when they heard that they
 39 were Romans ; and they came and besought them ; and when they had brought them out, they asked them to go away from
 40 the city. And they went out of the prison, and entered into the house of Lydia : and when they had seen the brethren, they
⁶ comforted them, and departed.

17 Now when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews : and Paul, as his custom was, went in unto them, and for three ⁷ sabbath days reasoned with them from

¹ Some ancient authorities read God.
 having believed God

⁴ Gr. *prætors*.

² Gr. *a table*.

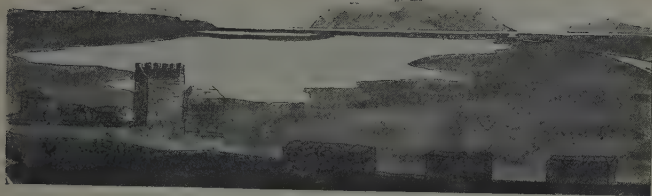
⁵ Gr. *lictors*.

⁸ Or,

⁶ Or, *exhorted*

⁷ Or, *weeks*

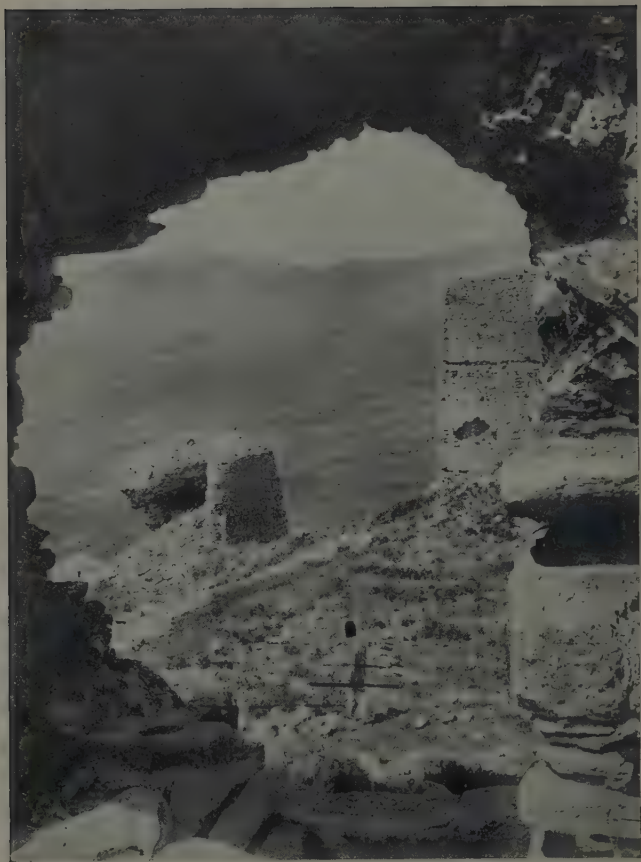
cf. Phil 4¹⁶



SAMOTHRACE in the distance from the mainland



NEAPOLIS East Harbour



SITE OF PHILIPPI from supposed remains of St. Paul's Prison

3 the scriptures, opening and alleging, that it behoved the Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead ; and that this Jesus, 4 whom, *said he*, I proclaim unto you, is the Christ. And some of them were persuaded, and consorted with Paul and Silas ; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief 5 women not a few. But the Jews, being moved with jealousy, took unto them certain vile fellows of the rabble, and gathering a crowd, set the city on an uproar ; and assaulting the house of 6 Jason, they sought to bring them forth to the people. And when they found them not, they dragged Jason and certain brethren before the rulers of the city, crying, These that have 7 turned ¹ the world upside down are come hither also ; whom Jason hath received : and these all act contrary to the decrees 8 of Cæsar, saying that there is another king, *one* Jesus. And they troubled the multitude and the rulers of the city, when 9 they heard these things. And when they had taken security from Jason and the rest, they let them go.

10 And the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea : who when they were come thither went into 11 the synagogue of the Jews. Now these were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all 12 readiness of mind, examining the scriptures daily, whether these 13 things were so. Many of them therefore believed ; also of the 14 Greek women of honourable estate, and of men, not a few. But when the Jews of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of 15 God was proclaimed of Paul at Berea also, they came thither 16 likewise, stirring up and troubling the multitudes. And then immediately the brethren sent forth Paul to go as far as to the 17 sea : and Silas and Timothy abode there still. But they that 18 conducted Paul brought him as far as Athens : and receiving a commandment unto Silas and Timothy that they should come 19 to him with all speed, they departed.

20 Now while Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit was 21 provoked within him, as he beheld the city full of idols. So he reasoned in the synagogue with the Jews and the devout persons, and in the marketplace every day with them that met 22 with him. And certain also of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers encountered him. And some said, What would this 23 babbler say ? other some, He seemeth to be a setter forth of 24 strange ² gods : because he preached Jesus and the resurrection. And they took hold of him, and brought him ³ unto ⁴ the 25 Areopagus, saying, May we know what this new teaching is,

¹ Gr. *the inhabited earth.*
the hill of Mars

² Gr. *demons.*

³ Or, *before*

⁴ Or,

20 which is spoken by thee ? For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears : we would know therefore what these things
 21 mean. (Now all the Athenians and the strangers sojourning there ¹ spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to
 22 hear some new thing.) And Paul stood in the midst of the Areopagus, and said,

Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye are some-
 23 what ² superstitious. For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar with this inscription, ³ TO AN UNKNOWN GOD. What therefore ye worship in
 24 There is ignorance, this set I forth unto you. The God that one only made the world and all things therein, he, being Lord God. of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in ⁴ temples made
 25 with hands ; neither is he served by men's hands, as though he needed anything, seeing he himself giveth to all life, and breath,
 26 and all things ; and he made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined *their* ap-
 27 pointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation ; that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after him, and find him,
 28 though he is not far from each one of us : for in him we live, and move, and have our being ; as certain even of your own
 29 Idolatry is poets have said, For we are also his offspring. Being unworthy. then the offspring of God, we ought not to think that ⁵ the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or
 Repent, stone, graven by art and device of man. The
 30 for God has ordained times of ignorance therefore God overlooked ; one to come but now he ⁶ commandeth men that they should
 as Judge. all everywhere repent : inasmuch as he hath
 31 appointed a day, in the which he will judge ⁷ the world in righteousness ⁸ by ⁹ the man whom he hath ordained ; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead.

32 Now when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked ; but others said, We will hear thee concerning this yet
 33 again. Thus Paul went out from among them. But certain
 34 men clave unto him, and believed : among whom also was Dionysius the Arcopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them.

18 After these things he departed from Athens, and came to Corinth. And he found a certain Jew named Aquila,

¹ Or, had leisure for nothing else

THE UNKNOWN GOD.

⁴ Or, sanctuaries

⁶ Some ancient authorities read declareth to men.

earth.

⁸ Gr. in.

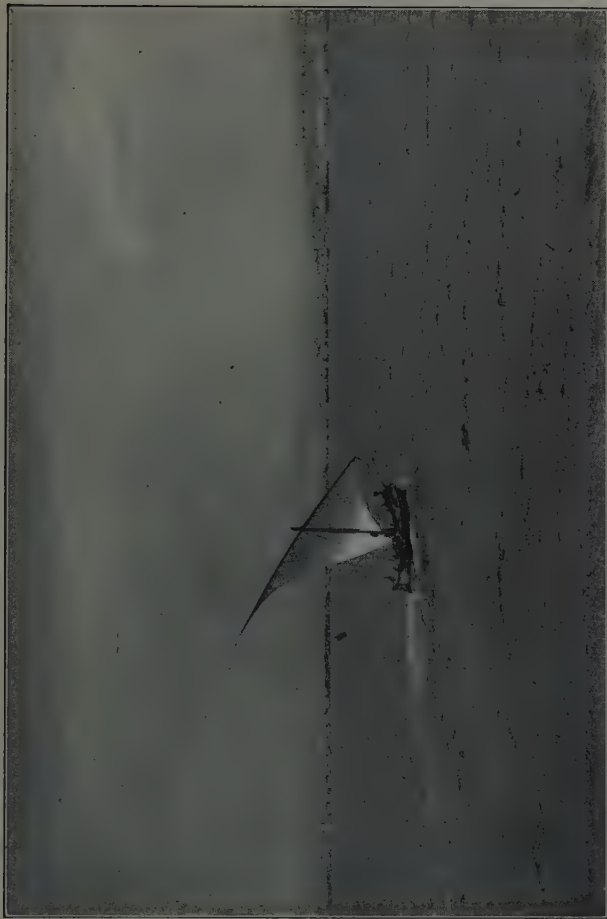
⁹ Or, a man

² Or, religious

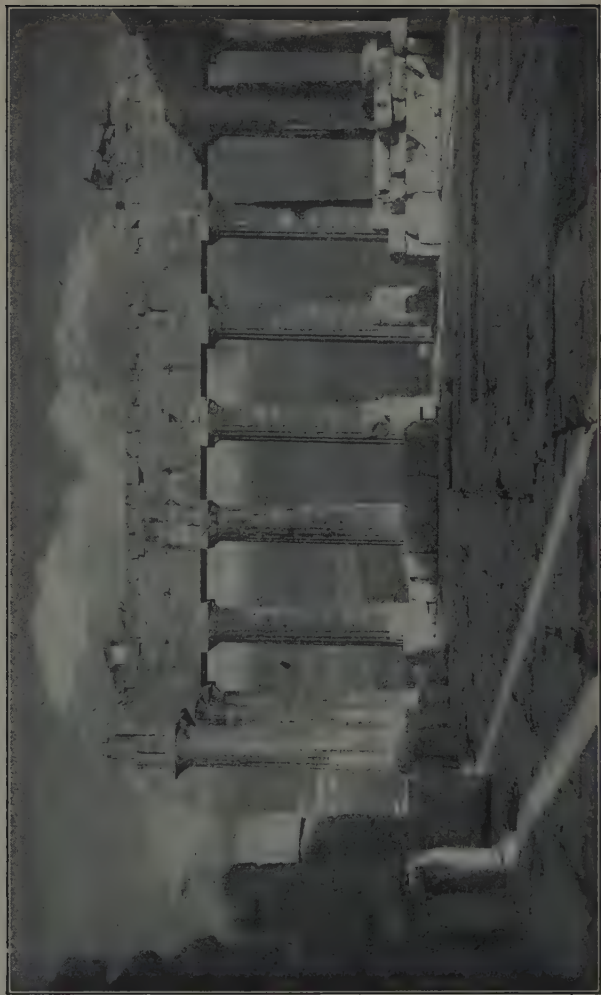
³ Or, to

⁵ Or, that which is divine

⁷ Gr. the inhabited



THESSALONICA FROM THE HARBOUR



ATHENS, The Parthenon

a man of Pontus by race, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to 3 depart from Rome : and he came unto them ; and because he was of the same trade, he abode with them, and they wrought ; 4 for by their trade they were tentmakers. And he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath, and ¹ persuaded Jews and Greeks. 5 But when Silas and Timothy came down from Macedonia, Paul was constrained by the word, testifying to the Jews that 6 Jesus was the Christ. And when they opposed themselves, and ² blasphemed, he shook out his raiment, and said unto them, Your blood *be* upon your own heads ; I am clean : from hence- 7 forth I will go unto the Gentiles. And he departed thence, and went into the house of a certain man named Titus Justus, one that worshipped God, whose house joined hard to the 8 synagogue. And Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, ³ believed in the Lord with all his house ; and many of the Corinthians 9 hearing believed, and were baptized. And the Lord said unto Paul in the night by a vision, Be not afraid, but speak, and 10 hold not thy peace : for I am with thee, and no man shall set 11 on thee to harm thee : for I have much people in this city. And he dwelt *there* a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them.

12 But when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, the Jews with one accord rose up against Paul, and brought him before the judge- 13 ment-seat, saying, This man persuadeth men to worship God 14 contrary to the law. But when Paul was about to open his mouth, Gallio said unto the Jews, If indeed it were a matter of wrong or of wicked villany, O ye Jews, reason would that I 15 should bear with you : but if they are questions about words and names and your own law, look to it yourselves ; I am not 16 minded to be a judge of these matters. And he drave them 17 from the judgement-seat. And they all laid hold on Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgement-seat. And Gallio cared for none of these things.

18 And Paul, having tarried after this yet many days, took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence for Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila ; having shorn his head in Cenchreæ : for 19 he had a vow. And they came to Ephesus, and he left them there : but he himself entered into the synagogue, and reasoned 20 with the Jews. And when they asked him to abide a longer 21 time, he consented not ; but taking his leave of them, and saying, I will return again unto you, if God will, he set sail from 22 Ephesus. And when he had landed at Cæsarea, he went up and saluted the church, and went down to Antioch.

¹ Gr. *sought to persuade.*² Or, *railed*³ Gr. *believed the Lord.*



CORINTH. Acrocorinth and Temple of Athena

PAUL IN ASIA. IMPENDING CRISIS AT JERUSALEM

23 And having spent some time *there*, he departed, and went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order, stablishing all the disciples.

24 Now a certain Jew named Apollos, an Alexandrian by race, ¹a learned man, came to Ephesus; and he was mighty in the
25 scriptures. This man had been ²instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in spirit, he spake and taught carefully the things concerning Jesus, knowing only the baptism
26 of John: and he began to speak boldly in the synagogue. But when Priscilla and Aquila heard him, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more carefully.
27 And when he was minded to pass over into Achaia, the brethren encouraged him, and wrote to the disciples to receive him: and when he was come, he ³helped them much which had
28 believed through grace: for he powerfully confuted the Jews, ⁴and that publicly, shewing by the scriptures that Jesus was the Christ.

19 And it came to pass, that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper country came to
2 Ephesus, and found certain disciples: and he said unto them, Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed? And they
3 said unto him, Nay, we did not so much as hear whether ⁵the Holy Ghost was *given*. And he said, Into what then were ye
4 baptized? And they said, Into John's baptism. And Paul said, John baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying
5 unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Jesus. And when they heard this,
6 they were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came
7 on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied. And they were in all about twelve men.

8 And he entered into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, reasoning and persuading *as to* the things
9 concerning the kingdom of God. But when some were hardened and disobedient, speaking evil of the Way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, reasoning
10 daily in the school of Tyrannus. And this continued for the space of two years; so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard
11 the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks. And God

¹ Or, *an eloquent man* ² Gr. *taught by word of mouth.*

helped much through grace them which had believed

³ Or, *there is a Holy Ghost*

⁴ Or, *shewing*

publicly

12 wrought special ¹ miracles by the hands of Paul : insomuch that unto the sick were carried away from his body handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the
 13 evil spirits went out. But certain also of the strolling Jews, exorcists, took upon them to name over them which had the evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, I adjure you
 14 by Jesus whom Paul preacheth. And there were seven sons
 15 of one Sceva, a Jew, a chief priest, which did this. And the evil spirit answered and said unto them, Jesus I ² know, and
 16 Paul I know ; but who are ye ? And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, and mastered both of them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked
 17 and wounded. And this became known to all, both Jews and Greeks, that dwelt at Ephesus ; and fear fell upon them all, and
 18 the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. Many also of them that had believed came, confessing, and declaring their deeds.
 19 And not a few of them that practised ³ curious arts brought their books together, and burned them in the sight of all : and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand
 20 pieces of silver. So mightily grew the word of the Lord and prevailed.

21 Now after these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also
 22 see Rome. And having sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timothy and Erastus, he himself stayed in Asia for a while.

23 And about that time there arose no small stir concerning
 24 the Way. For a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines of ⁴ Diana, brought no little business
 25 unto the craftsmen ; whom he gathered together, with the workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by
 26 this business we have our wealth. And ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that
 27 they be no gods, which are made with hands : and not only is there danger that this our trade come into disrepute ; but also that the temple of the great goddess ⁴ Diana be made of no account, and that she should even be deposed from her
 28 magnificence, whom all Asia and ⁵ the world worshippeth. And when they heard this, they were filled with wrath, and cried
 29 out, saying, Great is ⁴ Diana of the Ephesians. And the city

¹ Gr. *powers*.² Or, *recognise*³ Or, *magical*⁴ Gr. *Artemis*.⁵ Gr. *the inhabited earth*.



Temple of Diana. Castle and Mosque of Alaeddin in background



View from back seats of the theatre, looking over the stage, along the great street towards the harbour

EPHESUS



ROCK CHURCH NEAR ICONIUM
Where Onesimus is said to have met St. Paul



EPHESUS
The so-called ' House of the Virgin '
TRADITIONAL SITES OF ST. PAUL'S JOURNEY

was filled with the confusion : and they rushed with one accord into the theatre, having seized Gaius and Aristarchus, men of
30 Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel. And when Paul was minded to enter in unto the people, the disciples suffered him
31 not. And certain also of the ¹ chief officers of Asia, being his friends, sent unto him, and besought him not to adventure
32 himself into the theatre. Some therefore cried one thing, and some another : for the assembly was in confusion ; and the
33 more part knew not wherefore they were come together. ² And they brought Alexander out of the multitude, the Jews putting him forward. And Alexander beckoned with the hand, and
34 would have made a defence unto the people. But when they perceived that he was a Jew, all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, Great is ³ Diana of the Ephesians.
35 And when the townclerk had quieted the multitude, he saith, Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there who knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is temple-keeper of the great
³ Diana, and of the *image* which fell down from ⁴ Jupiter ?
36 Seeing then that these things cannot be gainsaid, ye ought to
37 be quiet, and to do nothing rash. For ye have brought *hither* these men, which are neither robbers of temples nor blasphemers
38 of our goddess. If therefore Demetrius, and the craftsmen that are with him, have a matter against any man, ⁵ the courts
39 are open, and there are proconsuls : let them accuse one another. But if ye seek anything about other matters, it shall
40 be settled in the regular assembly. For indeed we are in danger to be ⁶ accused concerning this day's riot, there being no cause
for it : and as touching it we shall not be able to give account
41 of this concourse. And when he had thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly.

20 And after the uproar was ceased, Paul having sent for the disciples and exhorted them, took leave of them, and
2 departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone through those parts, and had given them much exhortation,
3 he came into Greece. And when he had spent three months *there*, and a plot was laid against him by the Jews, as he was about to set sail for Syria, he determined to return through
4 Macedonia. And there accompanied him ⁷ as far as Asia Sopater of Berea, *the son* of Pyrrhus ; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus ; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy ;

¹ Gr. *Asiarchs*. ² Or, *And some of the multitude instructed Alexander*
³ Gr. *Artemis*. ⁴ Or, *heaven* ⁵ Or, *court days are kept* ⁶ Or,
accused of riot concerning this day ⁷ Many ancient authorities omit
as far as Asia.

5 and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. || But these ¹ had gone
 6 before, and were waiting for us at Troas. And we sailed away
 from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came
 unto them to Troas in five days ; where we tarried seven days.
 7 And upon the first day of the week, when we were gathered
 together to break bread, Paul discoursed with them, intending
 to depart on the morrow ; and prolonged his speech until mid-
 8 night. And there were many lights in the upper chamber,
 9 where we were gathered together. And there sat in the window
 a certain young man named Eutychus, borne down with deep
 sleep ; and as Paul discoursed yet longer, being borne down
 by his sleep he fell down from the third story, and was taken
 10 up dead. And Paul went down, and fell on him, and embracing
 11 him said, Make ye no ado ; for his life is in him. And when he
 was gone up, and had broken the bread, and eaten, and had
 talked with them a long while, even till break of day, so he
 12 departed. And they brought the lad alive, and were not a
 little comforted.
 13 But we, going before to the ship, set sail for Assos, there
 intending to take in Paul : for so had he appointed, intending
 14 himself to go ² by land. And when he met us at Assos, we
 15 took him in, and came to Mitylene. And sailing from thence,
 we came the following day over against Chios ; and the next
 day we touched at Samos ; and ³ the day after we came to
 16 Miletus.|| For Paul had determined to sail past Ephesus,
 that he might not have to spend time in Asia ; for he was
 hastening, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the
 day of Pentecost.
 17 And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called to him the
 18 Recollec- ⁴ elders of the church. And when they were come
 tions of his to him, he said unto them,
 ministry Ye yourselves know, from the first day that
 in Asia. I set foot in Asia, after what manner I was with
 19 you all the time, serving the Lord with all lowliness of mind,
 and with tears, and with trials which befell me by the plots
 20 of the Jews : how that I shrank not from declaring unto you
 anything that was profitable, and teaching you publicly, and
 21 from house to house, testifying both to Jews and to Greeks
 repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus
 22 ⁵ Christ. And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto

¹ Many ancient authorities read *came, and were waiting.* ² Or,
on foot
³ Many ancient authorities insert *having tarried at Trogylium.*
⁴ Or, *presbyters* ⁵ Many ancient authorities omit
Christ. || 'We' section.

Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there :
 23 Anticipa- save that the Holy Ghost testifieth unto me in
 tions of every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide
 24 crisis. me. But I hold not my life of any account, as
 dear unto myself,¹ so that I may accomplish my
 Exhorta- course, and the ministry which I received from
 tion to the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of
 diligence. God. And now, behold, I know that ye all, among
 25 whom I went about preaching the kingdom, shall see my face
 26 no more. Wherefore I testify unto you this day, that I am
 27 pure from the blood of all men. For I shrank not from de-
 28 claring unto you the whole counsel of God. Take heed unto
 yourselves, and to all the flock, in the which the Holy Ghost
 hath made you ² bishops, to feed the church of ³ God, which he
 29 ⁴ purchased with his own blood. I know that after my de-
 parting grievous wolves shall enter in among you, not sparing
 30 the flock ; and from among your own selves shall men arise,
 speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after
 31 them. Wherefore watch ye, remembering that by the space
 of three years I ceased not to admonish every one night and
 32 day with tears. And now I commend you to
 Final ⁵ God, and to the word of his grace, which is able
 counsel. to build *you* up, and to give *you* the inheritance
 33 among all them that are sanctified. I coveted no man's
 34 silver, or gold, or apparel. Ye yourselves know that these
 hands ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were
 35 with me. In all things I gave you an example, how that so
 labouring ye ought to help the weak, and to remember the
 words of the Lord Jesus, how he himself said, It is more
 blessed to give than to receive.
 36 And when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, and prayed
 37 with them all. And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck,
 38 and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the word which he
 had spoken, that they should behold his face no more. And
 they brought him on his way unto the ship.

21 || And when it came to pass that we were parted from
 them, and had set sail, we came with a straight course
 unto Cos, and the next day unto Rhodes, and from thence
 2 unto Patara : and having found a ship crossing over unto
 3 Phoenicia, we went aboard, and set sail. And when we had
 come in sight of Cyprus, leaving it on the left hand, we sailed

¹ Or, *in comparison of accomplishing my course*

² Or, *overseers*

³ Many ancient authorities read *the Lord*.

⁴ Gr. *acquired*.

⁵ Some

ancient authorities read *the Lord*.

|| ' We ' section.

unto Syria, and landed at Tyre : for there the ship was to
 4 unlade her burden. And having found the disciples, we
 tarried there seven days : and these said to Paul through the
 5 Spirit, that he should not set foot in Jerusalem. And when
 it came to pass that we had accomplished the days, we de-
 parted and went on our journey ; and they all, with wives
 and children, brought us on our way, till we were out of the
 6 city : and kneeling down on the beach, we prayed, and bade
 each other farewell ; and we went on board the ship, but they
 returned home again.

7 And when we had finished the voyage from Tyre, we arrived
 at Ptolemais ; and we saluted the brethren, and abode with
 8 them one day. And on the morrow we departed, and came
 unto Cæsarea : and entering into the house of Philip the
 9 evangelist, who was one of the seven, we abode with him.

Now this man had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy.
 10 And as we tarried there ¹ many days, there came down from
 11 Judæa a certain prophet, named Agabus. And coming to
 us, and taking Paul's girdle, he bound his own feet and hands,
 and said, Thus saith the Holy Ghost, So shall the Jews at
 Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall
 12 deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles. And when we
 heard these things, both we and they of that place besought
 13 him not to go up to Jerusalem. Then Paul answered, What
 do ye, weeping and breaking my heart ? for I am ready not
 to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name
 14 of the Lord Jesus. And when he would not be persuaded, we
 ceased, saying, The will of the Lord be done.

15 And after these days we ² took up our baggage, and went
 16 up to Jerusalem. And there went with us also *certain* of the
 disciples from Cæsarea, bringing *with them* one Mnason of
 Cyprus, an early disciple, with whom we should lodge.

PAUL AND THE JEWS

17 And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received
 18 us gladly. And the day following Paul went in with us unto
 19 James ; and all the elders were present.|| And when he had
 saluted them, he rehearsed one by one the things which God
 20 had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry. And they,
 when they heard it, glorified God ; and they said unto him,
 Thou seest, brother, how many ³ thousands there are among
 the Jews of them which have believed ; and they are all

¹ Or, *some*

² Or, *made ready*

³ Gr. *myriads*.

|| ' We ' section ends.



PATARA Theatre ; silted site of harbour of St. Paul's time beyond

21 zealous for the law : and they have been informed concerning thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs. What is it therefore ? they will certainly hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to thee : We have four men which have a vow on them ; these take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges for them, that they may shave their heads : and all shall know that there is no truth in the things whereof they have been informed concerning thee ; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, keeping the law. But as touching the Gentiles which have believed, we ¹ wrote, giving judgement that they should keep themselves from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from what is strangled, and from fornication. Then Paul ² took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them went into the temple, declaring the fulfilment of the days of purification, until the offering was offered for every one of them.

27 And when the seven days were almost completed, the Jews from Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the multitude, and laid hands on him, crying out, Men of Israel, help : This is the man, that teacheth all men everywhere against the people, and the law, and this place : and moreover he brought Greeks also into the temple, and hath defiled this holy place. For they had before seen with him in the city Trophimus the Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple. And all the city was moved, and the people ran together : and they laid hold on Paul, and dragged him out of the temple : and straightway the doors were shut. 31 And as they were seeking to kill him, tidings came up to the ³ chief captain of the ⁴ band, that all Jerusalem was in confusion. And forthwith he took soldiers and centurions, and ran down upon them : and they, when they saw the chief captain and the soldiers, left off beating Paul. Then the chief captain came near, and laid hold on him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains ; and inquired who he was, and what he had done. And some shouted one thing, some another, among the crowd : and when he could not know the certainty for the uproar, he commanded him to be brought into 35 the castle. And when he came upon the stairs, so it was, that

¹ Or, *enjoined* Many ancient authorities read *sent the men the next day, and purifying himself &c.*
Gr. *chiliarch* : and so throughout this book.

² Or, *took*
³ Or, *military tribune*
⁴ Or, *cohort*

he was borne of the soldiers for the violence of the crowd ;
 36 for the multitude of the people followed after, crying out,
 Away with him.

37 And as Paul was about to be brought into the castle, he
 saith unto the chief captain, May I say something unto thee ?
 38 And he said, Dost thou know Greek ? Art thou not then the
 Egyptian, which before these days stirred up to sedition and
 led out into the wilderness the four thousand men of the
 39 Assassins ? But Paul said, I am a Jew, of Tarsus in Cilicia,
 a citizen of no mean city : and I beseech thee, give me leave
 40 to speak unto the people. And when he had given him leave,
 Paul, standing on the stairs, beckoned with the hand unto
 the people ; and when there was made a great silence, he
 spake unto them in the Hebrew language, saying,

22 Brethren and fathers, hear ye the defence which I now
 make unto you.

2 And when they heard that he spake unto them in the
 Hebrew language, they were the more quiet : and he saith,

3 I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought
 up in this city, at the feet of Gamaliel, instructed
 Paul's Jewish education. according to the strict manner of the law of our
 fathers, being zealous for God, even as ye all are

4 this day : and I persecuted this Way unto the death, binding
 5 and delivering into prisons both men and women. As also
 the high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the
 elders : from whom also I received letters unto the brethren,
 and journeyed to Damascus, to bring them also which were
 6 there unto Jerusalem in bonds, for to be punished. And it

His conversion. came to pass, that, as I made my journey, and
 drew nigh unto Damascus, about noon, suddenly
 there shone from heaven a great light round about

7 me. And I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto

8 me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ? And I answered,
 Who art thou, Lord ? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of

9 Nazareth, whom thou persecutest. And they that were with
 me beheld indeed the light, but they heard not the voice of
 10 him that spake to me. And I said, What shall I do, Lord ?

And the Lord said unto me, Arise, and go into Damascus ;
 and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed
 11 for thee to do. And when I could not see for the glory of that
 light, being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came

12 into Damascus. And one Ananias, a devout man according
 to the law, well reported of by all the Jews that dwelt there,

13 came unto me, and standing by me said unto me, Brother

- Saul, receive thy sight. And in that very hour I ¹ looked up
 14 on him. And he said, The God of our fathers hath
 His divine appointed thee to know his will, and to see the
 commis- Righteous One, and to hear a voice from his mouth.
 sion.
 15 For thou shalt be a witness for him unto all men
 16 of what thou hast seen and heard. And now why tarriest
 thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling
 17 on his name. And it came to pass, that, when I had returned
 to Jerusalem, and while I prayed in the temple, I fell into
 18 a trance, and saw him saying unto me, Make haste, and get
 thee quickly out of Jerusalem: because they will not receive
 19 of thee testimony concerning me. And I said, Lord, they
 themselves know that I imprisoned and beat in every syna-
 20 gogue them that believed on thee: and when the blood of
 Stephen thy witness was shed, I also was standing by, and
 consenting, and keeping the garments of them that slew him.
 21 And he said unto me, Depart: for I will send thee
 His mis- forth far hence unto the Gentiles.
 sion to the
 22 Gentiles. And they gave him audience unto this word;
 and they lifted up their voice, and said, Away with
 such a fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should
 23 live. And as they cried out, and threw off their garments,
 24 and cast dust into the air; the chief captain commanded him
 to be brought into the castle, bidding that he should be
 examined by scourging, that he might know for what cause
 25 they so shouted against him. And when they had tied him up
² with the thongs, Paul said unto the centurion that stood by,
 Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and
 26 uncondemned? And when the centurion heard it, he went
 to the chief captain, and told him, saying, What art thou
 27 about to do? for this man is a Roman. And the chief captain
 came, and said unto him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? And
 28 he said, Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great
 sum obtained I this citizenship. And Paul said, But I am
 29 a Roman born. They then which were about to examine him
 straightway departed from him: and the chief captain also
 was afraid, when he knew that he was a Roman, and because
 he had bound him.
 30 But on the morrow, desiring to know the certainty, where-
 fore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him, and com-
 manded the chief priests and all the council to come together,
 and brought Paul down, and set him before them.

¹ Or, *received my sight* and looked upon him² Or, *for*

23 And Paul, looking stedfastly on the council, said, Brethren, I have lived before God in all good conscience until this day. And the high priest Ananias commanded them that stood by him to smite him on the mouth. Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, thou whited wall : and sittest thou to judge me according to the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law ? And they that stood by said, Revilest thou God's high priest ? And Paul said, I wist not, brethren, that he was high priest : for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of a ruler of thy people. But when Paul perceived that the one part were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the council, Brethren, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees : touching the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question. And when he had so said, there arose a dissension between the Pharisees and Sadducees : and the assembly was divided. For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit : but the Pharisees confess both. And there arose a great clamour : and some of the scribes of the Pharisees' part stood up, and strove, saying, We find no evil in this man : and what if a spirit hath spoken to him, or an angel ? And when there arose a great dissension, the chief captain, fearing lest Paul should be torn in pieces by them, commanded the soldiers to go down and take him by force from among them, and bring him into the castle.

And the night following the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good cheer : for as thou hast testified concerning me at Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome.

And when it was day, the Jews banded together, and bound themselves under a curse, saying that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul. And they were more than forty which made this conspiracy. And they came to the chief priests and the elders, and said, We have bound ourselves under a great curse, to taste nothing until we have killed Paul. Now therefore do ye with the council signify to the chief captain that he bring him down unto you, as though ye would judge of his case more exactly : and we, or ever he come near, are ready to slay him. But Paul's sister's son heard of their lying in wait, ¹ and he came and entered into the castle, and told Paul. And Paul called unto him one of the centurions, and said, Bring this young man unto the chief captain : for he hath something to tell him. So he took him, and brought him to the chief captain, and saith, Paul the prisoner called me unto him, and asked me to bring this young

¹ Or, *having come in upon them, and he entered &c.*

19 man unto thee, who hath something to say to thee. And the chief captain took him by the hand, and going aside asked
 20 him privately, What is that thou hast to tell me? And he said, The Jews have agreed to ask thee to bring down Paul to-morrow unto the council, as though thou wouldest inquire
 21 somewhat more exactly concerning him. Do not thou therefore yield unto them: for there lie in wait for him of them more than forty men, which have bound themselves under a curse, neither to eat nor to drink till they have slain him: and now are they ready, looking for the promise from thee.
 22 So the chief captain let the young man go, charging him, Tell
 23 no man that thou hast signified these things to me. And he called unto him two of the centurions, and said, Make ready two hundred soldiers to go as far as Cæsarea, and horsemen threescore and ten, and spearmen two hundred, at the third
 24 hour of the night: and *he bade them* provide beasts, that they might set Paul thereon, and bring him safe unto Felix the
 25 governor. And he wrote a letter after this form:

26 Claudius Lysias unto the most excellent governor Felix, greeting. This man was seized by the Jews, and was about to be slain of them, when I came upon them with the soldiers,
 27 and rescued him, having learned that he was a Roman. And desiring to know the cause wherefore they accused him,
 28 29 I brought him down unto their council: whom I found to be accused about questions of their law, but to have nothing
 30 laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds. And when it was shewn to me that there would be a plot against the man, I sent him to thee forthwith, charging his accusers also to speak against him before thee.²

31 So the soldiers, as it was commanded them, took Paul, and
 32 brought him by night to Antipatris. But on the morrow they left the horsemen to go with him, and returned to the castle:
 33 and they, when they came to Cæsarea, and delivered the letter to the governor, presented Paul also before him. And when he had read it, he asked of what province he was; and when
 34 he understood that he was of Cilicia, I will hear thy cause, said he, when thine accusers also are come: and he commanded him to be kept in Herod's ³ palace.

24 And after five days the high priest Ananias came down with certain elders, and *with* an orator, one Tertullus;
 2 and they informed the governor against Paul. And when he was called, Tertullus began to accuse him, saying,

¹ Some ancient authorities omit *I brought him down unto their council.*

² Many ancient authorities add *Farewell.*

³ Gr. *Prætorium.*

Seeing that by thee we enjoy much peace, and that by thy
 3 providence evils are corrected for this nation, we accept it in
 all ways and in all places, most excellent Felix, with all thank-
 4 fulness. But, that I be not further tedious unto thee, I intreat
 5 thee to hear us of thy clemency a few words. For we have
 found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of insur-
 rections among all the Jews throughout ¹ the world, and
 6 a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes: who moreover
 assayed to profane the temple: on whom also we laid hold: ²
 8 from whom thou wilt be able, by examining him thyself, to
 take knowledge of all these things, whereof we accuse him.
 9 And the Jews also joined in the charge, affirming that these
 things were so.

10 **Exordium.** And when the governor had beckoned unto him
 to speak, Paul answered,

Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years
 a judge unto this nation, I do cheerfully make my defence:

11 **Statement** seeing that thou canst take knowledge, that it is
 of facts. not more than twelve days since I went up to

12 worship at Jerusalem: and neither in the temple

did they find me disputing with any man or stirring up a crowd,

13 nor in the synagogues, nor in the city. Neither can they

14 prove to thee the things whereof they now accuse me. But

this I confess unto thee, that after the Way which

Christian- they call ³ a sect, so serve I the God of our fathers,

ity in ac- believing all things which are according to the law,

15 Jewish and which are written in the prophets: having

scriptures. hope toward God, which these also themselves

⁴ look for, that there shall be a resurrection both of the just

16 and unjust. Herein do I also exercise myself to

Protesta- have a conscience void of offence toward God and

17 tion of men alway. Now after ⁵ many years I came to

18 innocence. bring alms to my nation, and offerings: ⁶ amidst

which they found me purified in the temple, with no crowd,

nor yet with tumult: but *there were* certain Jews from Asia—

19 who ought to have been here before thee, and to make accusa-

20 tion, if they had aught against me. Or else let these men

themselves say what wrong-doing they found, when I stood

¹ Gr. *the inhabited earth*.

² Some ancient authorities insert *and we would have judged him according to our law.* ⁷ But the chief captain Lysias came, and with great violence took him away out of our hands, ⁸ commanding his accusers to come before thee.

³ Or, *heresy* ⁴ Or, *accept* ⁵ Or, *some* ⁶ Or, *in presenting which*

21 before the council, except it be for this one voice, that I cried standing among them, Touching the resurrection of the dead I am called in question before you this day.

22 But Felix, having more exact knowledge concerning the Way, deferred them, saying, When Lysias the chief captain shall come down, I will determine your matter. And he gave order to the centurion that he should be kept in charge, and should have indulgence ; and not to forbid any of his friends to minister unto him.

24 But after certain days, Felix came with Drusilla, ¹ his wife, which was a Jewess, and sent for Paul, and heard him concerning the faith in Christ Jesus. And as he reasoned of righteousness, and ² temperance, and the judgement to come, Felix was terrified, and answered, Go thy way for this time ; and when I have a convenient season, I will call thee unto me. 26 He hoped withal that money would be given him of Paul : wherefore also he sent for him the oftener, and communed 27 with him. But when two years were fulfilled, Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus ; and desiring to gain favour with the Jews, Felix left Paul in bonds.

25 Festus therefore, ³ having come into the province, after 2 three days went up to Jerusalem from Cæsarea. And the chief priests and the principal men of the Jews informed him 3 against Paul ; and they besought him, asking favour against him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem ; laying wait 4 to kill him on the way. Howbeit Festus answered, that Paul was kept in charge at Cæsarea, and that he himself was about 5 to depart *thither* shortly. Let them therefore, saith he, which are of power among you, go down with me, and if there is anything amiss in the man, let them accuse him.

6 And when he had tarried among them not more than eight or ten days, he went down unto Cæsarea ; and on the morrow he sat on the judgement-seat, and commanded Paul to be 7 brought. And when he was come, the Jews which had come down from Jerusalem stood round about him, bringing against him many and grievous charges, which they could not prove ; 8 while Paul said in his defence, Neither against the law of the Jews, nor against the temple, nor against Cæsar, have I sinned 9 at all. But Festus, desiring to gain favour with the Jews, answered Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and 10 there be judged of these things before me ? But Paul said, I am standing before Cæsar's judgement-seat, where I ought

¹ Gr. *his own wife*.
upon his province

² Or, *self-control*

³ Or, *having entered*

to be judged : to the Jews have I done no wrong, as thou
 11 also very well knowest. If then I am a wrong-doer, and have
 committed anything worthy of death, I refuse not to die :
 but if none of those things is *true*, whereof these accuse me,
 no man can ¹ give me up unto them. I appeal unto Cæsar.
 12 Then Festus, when he had conferred with the council, answered,
 Thou hast appealed unto Cæsar : unto Cæsar shalt thou go.
 13 Now when certain days were passed, Agrippa the king and
 14 Bernice arrived at Cæsarea, ² and saluted Festus. And as they
 tarried there many days, Festus laid Paul's case before the
 king, saying, There is a certain man left a prisoner by Felix :
 15 about whom, when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and
 the elders of the Jews informed *me*, asking for sentence against
 16 him. To whom I answered, that it is not the custom of the
 Romans to give up any man, before that the accused have the
 accusers face to face, and have had opportunity to make his
 17 defence concerning the matter laid against him. When there-
 fore they were come together here, I made no delay, but on
 the next day sat down on the judgement-seat, and commanded
 18 the man to be brought. Concerning whom, when the accusers
 stood up, they brought no charge of such evil things as I
 19 supposed ; but had certain questions against him of their own
³ religion, and of one Jesus, who was dead, whom Paul affirmed
 20 to be alive. And I, being perplexed how to inquire concerning
 these things, asked whether he would go to Jerusalem, and
 21 there be judged of these matters. But when Paul had appealed
 to be kept for the decision of ⁴ the emperor, I commanded him
 22 to be kept till I should send him to Cæsar. And Agrippa *said*
 unto Festus, I also ⁵ could wish to hear the man myself. To-
 morrow, saith he, thou shalt hear him.

23 So on the morrow, when Agrippa was come, and Bernice,
 with great pomp, and they were entered into the place of
 hearing, with the chief captains, and the principal men of the
 24 city, at the command of Festus Paul was brought in. And
 Festus saith, King Agrippa, and all men which are here present
 with us, ye behold this man, about whom all the multitude of
 the Jews made suit to me, both at Jerusalem and here, crying
 25 that he ought not to live any longer. But I found that he had
 committed nothing worthy of death : and as he himself
 26 appealed to ⁴ the emperor I determined to send him. Of whom
 I have no certain thing to write unto my lord. Wherefore
 I have brought him forth before you, and specially before

¹ Gr. *grant me by favour* : and so in ver. 16.

³ Or, *superstition*

⁴ Gr. *the Augustus*.

² Or, *having saluted*

⁵ Or, *was wishing*

thee, king Agrippa, that, after examination had, I may have
 27 somewhat to write. For it seemeth to me unreasonable, in
 sending a prisoner, not withal to signify the charges against him.

26 And Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted to speak
 for thyself. Then Paul stretched forth his hand, and
 made his defence :

2 Exordium. I think myself happy, king Agrippa, that I am
 to make my defence before thee this day touching
 3 all the things whereof I am accused by the Jews : ¹ especially
 because thou art expert in all customs and questions which
 are among the Jews : wherefore I beseech thee to hear me
 4 Paul's patiently. My manner of life then from my youth
 Jewish up, which was from the beginning among mine own
 5 education. nation, and at Jerusalem, know all the Jews : hav-
 ing knowledge of me from the first, if they be willing to testify,
 how that after the straitest sect of our religion I lived a Phari-
 6 see. And now I stand *here* to be judged for the
 Christian- hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers ;
 ity fulfils unto which *promise* our twelve tribes, earnestly
 7 Judaism. serving *God* night and day, hope to attain. And
 8 concerning this hope I am accused by the Jews, O king ! Why
 is it judged incredible with you, if God doth raise the dead ?
 9 I verily thought with myself, that I ought to do many things
 10 contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. And this I also did
 in Jerusalem : and I both shut up many of the saints in prisons,
 having received authority from the chief priests, and when
 11 they were put to death, I gave my vote against them. And
 punishing them oftentimes in all the synagogues, I strove to
 make them blaspheme ; and being exceedingly mad against
 them, I persecuted them even unto foreign cities.
 12 How Paul came to be- ² Whereupon as I journeyed to Damascus with the
 13 lieve and authority and commission of the chief priests, at
 preach it. midday, O king, I saw on the way a light from
 heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about
 14 me and them that journeyed with me. And when we were
 all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice saying unto me in the
 Hebrew language, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ? it
 15 is hard for thee to kick against ³ the goad. And I said, Who
 art thou, Lord ? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou
 16 persecutest. But arise, and stand upon thy feet : for to this
 end have I appeared unto thee, to appoint thee a minister and
 a witness both of the things ⁴ wherein thou hast seen me, and

¹ Or, because thou art especially expert

² Or, On which errand

³ Gr. goads.

⁴ Many ancient authorities read *which thou hast seen.*

17 of the things wherein I will appear unto thee ; delivering thee
 18 from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom I send thee,
 19 to open their eyes, ¹ that they may turn from darkness to light,
 and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive
 remission of sins and an inheritance among them that are
 20 sanctified by faith in me. Wherefore, O king Agrippa, I was
 not disobedient unto the heavenly vision : but declared both to
 them of Damascus first, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all
 the country of Judæa, and also to the Gentiles, that they
 should repent and turn to God, doing works worthy of ² repent-
 21 ance. For this cause the Jews seized me in the temple, and
 22 assayed to kill me. Having therefore obtained the help that
 is from God, I stand unto this day testifying both to small and
 great, saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses did say
 23 should come ; ³ how that the Christ ⁴ must suffer, *and* ³ how
 that he first by the resurrection of the dead should proclaim
 light both to the people and to the Gentiles.

24 And as he thus made his defence, Festus saith with a loud
 voice, Paul, thou art mad ; thy much learning doth turn thee to
 25 madness. But Paul saith, I am not mad, most excellent Festus ;
 26 but speak forth words of truth and soberness. For the king
 knoweth of these things, unto whom also I speak freely : for I
 am persuaded that none of these things is hidden from him ; for
 27 this hath not been done in a corner. King Agrippa, believest
 28 thou the prophets ? I know that thou believest. And Agrippa
said unto Paul, With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain
 29 make me a Christian. And Paul *said*, I would to God, that
 whether with little or with much, not thou only, but also all
 that hear me this day, might become such as I am, except these
 bonds.

30 And the king rose up, and the governor, and Bernice, and
 31 they that sat with them : and when they had withdrawn,
 they spake one to another, saying, This man doeth nothing
 32 worthy of death or of bonds. And Agrippa said unto Festus,
 This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed
 unto Cæsar.

THE JOURNEY TO ROME

27 || And when it was determined that we should sail for
 Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners
 2 to a centurion named Julius, of the Augustan ⁵ band. And

¹ Or, to turn them

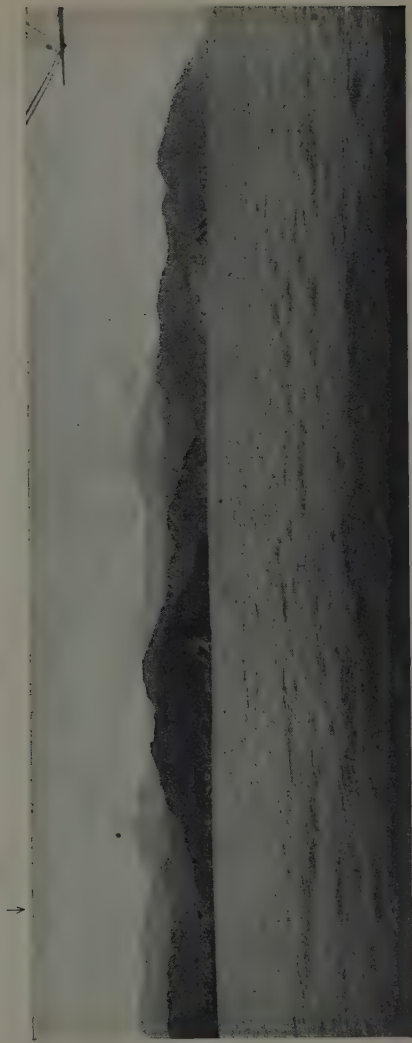
² Or, their repentance

³ Or, if Or, whether

⁴ Or, is subject to suffering

⁵ Or, cohort

|| ' We ' section.



FAIR HAVENS, CRETE

The arrow marks the entrance to the harbour

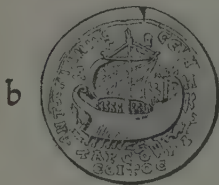
embarking in a ship of Adramyttium, which was about to sail unto the places on the coast of Asia, we put to sea, Aristarchus, 3 a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us. And the next day we touched at Sidon : and Julius treated Paul kindly, and gave him leave to go unto his friends and ¹ refresh himself. 4 And putting to sea from thence, we sailed under the lee of 5 Cyprus, because the winds were contrary. And when we had sailed across the sea which is off Cilicia and Pamphylia, we 6 came to Myra, *a city* of Lycia. And there the centurion found a ship of Alexandria sailing for Italy ; and he put us therein. 7 And when we had sailed slowly many days, and were come with difficulty over against Cnidus, the wind not ² further suffering us, we sailed under the lee of Crete, over against 8 Salmone ; and with difficulty coasting along it we came unto a certain place called Fair Havens ; nigh whereunto was the city of Lasea.

9 And when much time was spent, and the voyage was now dangerous, because the Fast was now already gone by, Paul 10 admonished them, and said unto them, Sirs, I perceive that the voyage will be with injury and much loss, not only of the lading 11 and the ship, but also of our lives. But the centurion gave more heed to the master and to the owner of the ship, than to 12 those things which were spoken by Paul. And because the haven was not commodious to winter in, the more part advised to put to sea from thence, if by any means they could reach Phoenix, and winter *there* ; *which is* a haven of Crete, looking 13 ³ north-east and south-east. And when the south wind blew softly, supposing that they had obtained their purpose, they 14 weighed anchor and sailed along Crete, close in shore. But after no long time there beat down from it a tempestuous wind, 15 which is called Euraquilo : and when the ship was caught, and 16 could not face the wind, we gave way *to it*, and were driven. And running under the lee of a small island called ⁴ Cauda, we were 17 able, with difficulty, to secure the boat : and when they had hoisted it up, they used helps, under-girding the ship ; and, fearing lest they should be cast upon the Syrtis, they lowered 18 the gear, and so were driven. And as we laboured exceedingly with the storm, the next day they began to throw *the freight* 19 overboard ; and the third day they cast out with their own 20 hands the ⁵ tackling of the ship. And when neither sun nor stars shone upon *us* for many days, and no small tempest lay

¹ Gr. *receive attention*.² Or, *suffering us to get there down the south-west wind and down the north-west wind*ancient authorities read *Clauda*.⁵ Or, *furniture*³ Gr.
 ⁴ Many



a



b



c

MERCHANT VESSELS

a, Mosaic showing stern and body of a merchant vessel passing a lighthouse at the entrance to the harbour; *b*, from a coin of Caracalla (third century A.D.), showing a ship bearing corn to Tarsus; *c*, from a coin of Commodus (second century A.D.)

on us, all hope that we should be saved was now taken away.
 21 And when they had been long without food, then Paul stood forth in the midst of them, and said, Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me, and not have set sail from Crete, and have
 22 gotten this injury and loss. And now I exhort you to be of good cheer: for there shall be no loss of life among you, but
 23 *only* of the ship. For there stood by me this night an angel of
 24 the God whose I am, whom also I serve, saying, Fear not, Paul; thou must stand before Cæsar: and lo, God hath granted thee
 25 all them that sail with thee. Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer: for I believe God, that it shall be even so as it hath been spoken
 26 unto me. Howbeit we must be cast upon a certain island.
 27 But when the fourteenth night was come, as we were driven to and fro in the *sea of Adria*, about midnight the sailors sur-
 28 mised that they were drawing near to some country; and they sounded, and found twenty fathoms: and after a little space,
 29 they sounded again, and found fifteen fathoms. And fearing lest haply we should be cast ashore on rocky ground, they let
 30 go four anchors from the stern, and ¹ wished for the day. And as the sailors were seeking to flee out of the ship, and had lowered the boat into the sea, under colour as though they
 31 would lay out anchors from the foreship, Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers, Except these abide in the ship,
 32 ye cannot be saved. Then the soldiers cut away the ropes of
 33 the boat, and let her fall off. And while the day was coming on, Paul besought them all to take some food, saying, This day is the fourteenth day that ye wait and continue fasting, having
 34 taken nothing. Wherefore I beseech you to take some food: for this is for your safety: for there shall not a hair perish
 35 from the head of any of you. And when he had said this, and had taken bread, he gave thanks to God in the presence of all:
 36 and he brake it, and began to eat. Then were they all of good cheer, and themselves also took food. And we were in all in
 37 the ship ² two hundred threescore and sixteen souls. And when they had eaten enough, they lightened the ship, throwing
 39 out the wheat into the sea. And when it was day, they knew not the land: but they perceived a certain bay with a beach, and they took counsel whether they could ³ drive the ship upon it.
 40 And casting off the anchors, they left them in the sea, at the same time loosing the bands of the rudders; and hoisting up
 41 the foresail to the wind, they made for the beach. But lighting

¹ Or, *prayed*
 and sixteen souls.

² Some ancient authorities read *about threescore*

³ Some ancient authorities read *bring the ship*

safe to shore.

upon a place where two seas met, they ran the vessel aground ; and the foreship struck and remained unmoveable, but the stern began to break up by the violence of *the waves*. And the soldiers' counsel was to kill the prisoners, lest any of *them* should swim out, and escape. But the centurion, desiring to save Paul, stayed them from their purpose ; and commanded that they which could swim should cast themselves overboard, and get first to the land : and the rest, some on planks, and some on *other* things from the ship. And so it came to pass, that they all escaped safe to the land.

28 And when we were escaped, then we knew that the island was called ¹ Melita. And the barbarians shewed us no common kindness : for they kindled a fire, and received us all, because of the present rain, and because of the cold. But when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks, and laid them on the fire, a viper came out ² by reason of the heat, and fastened on his hand. And when the barbarians saw the beast hanging from his hand, they said one to another, No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped from the sea, yet Justice hath not suffered to live. Howbeit he shook off the beast into the fire, and took no harm. But they expected that he would have swollen, or fallen down dead suddenly : but when they were long in expectation, and beheld nothing amiss come to him, they changed their minds, and said that he was a god.

Now in the neighbourhood of that place were lands belonging to the chief man of the island, named Publius ; who received us, and entertained us three days courteously. And it was so, that the father of Publius lay sick of fever and dysentery : unto whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laying his hands on him healed him. And when this was done, the rest also which had diseases in the island came, and were cured : who also honoured us with many honours ; and when we sailed, they put on board such things as we needed.

And after three months we set sail in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the island, whose sign was ³ The Twin Brothers. And touching at Syracuse, we tarried there three days. And from thence we ⁴ made a circuit, and arrived at Rhegium : and after one day a south wind sprang up, and on the second day we came to Puteoli : where we found brethren, and were intreated to tarry with them seven days : and so we came to Rome. And from thence the brethren, when they

¹ Some ancient authorities read *Melitene*.

² Or, *from the heat*

³ Gr. *Dioscouri*.

⁴ Some ancient authorities read *cast loose*.



THE APPIAN WAY

heard of us, came to meet us as far as The Market of Appius, and The Three Taverns : whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.

- 16 And when we entered into Rome, ¹ Paul was suffered to abide by himself with the soldier that guarded him.||

PAUL IN ROME

- 17 And it came to pass, that after three days he called together ² those that were the chief of the Jews : and when they were come together, he said unto them, I, brethren, though I had done nothing against the people, or the customs of our fathers, yet was delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of
18 the Romans : who, when they had examined me, desired to set me at liberty, because there was no cause of death in me.
19 But when the Jews spake against it, I was constrained to appeal unto Cæsar ; not that I had aught to accuse my nation
20 of. For this cause therefore did I ³ intreat you to see and to speak with *me* : for because of the hope of Israel I am bound
21 with this chain. And they said unto him, We neither received letters from Judæa concerning thee, nor did any of the brethren
22 come hither and report or speak any harm of thee. But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest : for as concerning this sect, it is known to us that everywhere it is spoken against.
23 And when they had appointed him a day, they came to him into his lodging in great number ; to whom he expounded *the matter*, testifying the kingdom of God, and persuading them concerning Jesus, both from the law of Moses and from the
24 prophets, from morning till evening. And some believed the
25 things which were spoken, and some disbelieved. And when they agreed not among themselves, they departed, after that Paul had spoken one word, Well spake the Holy Ghost ⁴ by
26 Isaiah the prophet unto your fathers, saying,
Go thou unto this people, and say,
By hearing ye shall hear, and shall in no wise understand ;
And seeing ye shall see, and shall in no wise perceive :
27 For this people's heart is waxed gross,
And their ears are dull of hearing,
And their eyes they have closed ;
Lest haply they should perceive with their eyes,

¹ Some ancient authorities insert *the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the prætorian guard* : but. ² Or, those that were of the Jews first

³ Or, call for you, to see and to speak with you

⁴ Or, through || 'We' section ends.

And hear with their ears,
 And understand with their heart,
 And should turn again,
 And I should heal them.

28 Be it known therefore unto you, that this salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles : they will also hear.¹

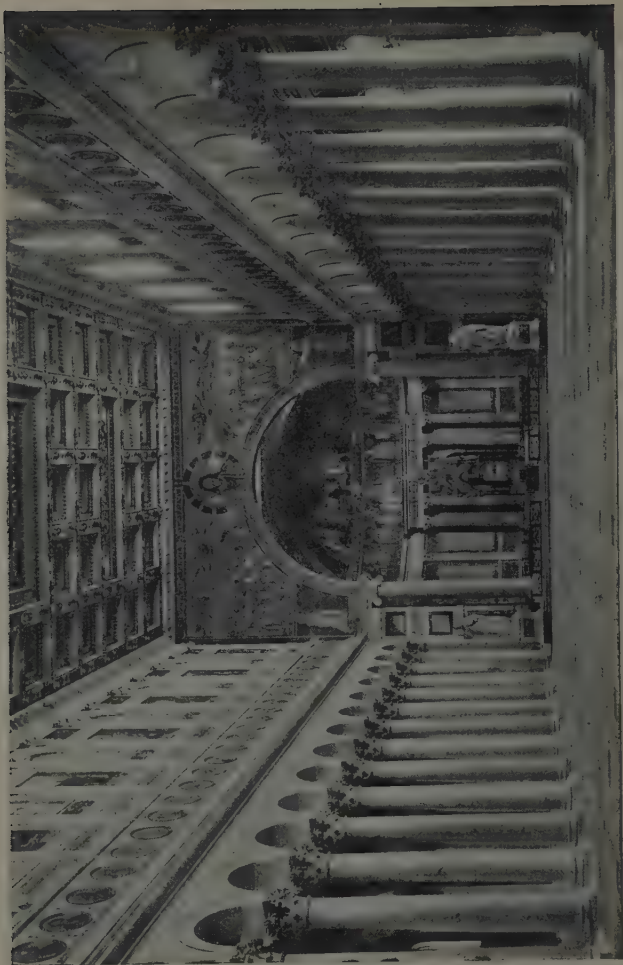
30 And he abode two whole years in his own hired dwelling, and
 31 received all that went in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness, none forbidding him.

¹ Some ancient authorities insert ver. 29 *And when he had said these words, the Jews departed, having much disputing among themselves.*



' St. Paul's Ship on the Fifteenth Morning '

Reconstruction, from James Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1848. For the archaeological evidence see p. 124



ROME BASILICA OF ST. PAUL

The tomb of St. Paul is believed to be beneath the chancel

COMMENTARY

II-14. THE DAWN OF ENLIGHTENMENT

The notes in this Commentary are of two kinds: those in larger type deal mainly with the more important points concerned with the subject-matter and the history of the book; those in smaller type are concerned with minor points of translation, reading, interpretation, and allusion.

I. 1. A short introduction, connecting Acts with the end of Luke's Gospel; it summarizes the purport of the post-Resurrection teaching of Our Lord, and adds supplemental information which the Gospel did not contain. The brevity of the address suggests that Acts must have followed soon after the third Gospel.

former. Gr. 'first'; this need not imply that Acts was meant to lead to a sequel in a third volume. (But cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, c. 1.)

Theophilus is called 'most excellent' (κράτιστε) in Luke 1³, a term of respect for a man of high rank or official position; it is applied to Felix and Festus in Acts 23²⁶, 24³, 26²⁵. Theophilus was therefore probably a real individual; but the name (= 'friend of God') is an unlikely name for a Roman of rank in the first century.

began. Perhaps the translation of an Aramaic word, meaning nothing more than 'set about', and not conveying, as the English does, the idea that Jesus' work before the Ascension was a beginning of work which He was still doing. But, of course, the belief in His continuous living activity was a definite conviction of the early Christians. They called this activity 'holy spirit'. Cf. Essay after c. 2.

2. *through the Holy Ghost.* The order of the Greek words makes it likely that this goes with 'given commandment', and not with 'had chosen'. There seems no reason why the action of the Holy Ghost should be thus emphasized here, and 'had given commandment' (ἐντειλάμενος) is left without an object. Perhaps we have here the translation of an Aramaic preposition meaning 'in the case of', 'concerning'; then the phrase points forward to vv. 4, 5, where Jesus gives commandment concerning the Holy Ghost.

3. *forty days.* Not in the third Gospel, where a selection of Appearances is given with no notes of time.

The 'proofs' consisted of visions and communications. It is certain (1) that the disciples believed that Jesus, who had died, was alive again, (2) that they believed that He had returned to heaven, and looked for Him to come back from there, and (3) that they became in consequence different men, both morally

and spiritually. It is difficult to believe that the revulsion of feeling which took place in the disciples between the catastrophe of Good Friday and the outburst of Pentecost could have resulted from anything less than a concrete fact producing the new conviction.

Verses 6-8 seem to be a kind of epitome of the general instruction concerning the kingdom of God, which the disciples received during this period. From the Gospel narratives of the Appearances we see that it comprised (1) the revelation of Christ as the centre of history, who 'fulfils the Scriptures', (2) the commission to the disciples to evangelize the world, (3) the assurance of His presence and help.

4. *the promise.* Cf. Luke 24⁴⁹, and the teaching about the Holy Ghost in the fourth Gospel. But the quotation in v. 5 is from words spoken by John the Baptist (Luke 3¹⁶), and not by Christ. The discrepancy can be explained by the supposition that the author simply reproduces here what was in his source.

6. The question is put in the language of the old Jewish Messianic hope. The restoration of the kingdom to Israel was the regular phrase for that final establishment of the theocracy and spiritual renovation of mankind, which had been the highest point of prophetic and apocalyptic expectation among the Jews (cf. Essay at the end of cap. 5). This hope was understood in a materialistic and nationalistic sense (as promising a time of material prosperity and Jewish world-empire) by some, but not by all. Clearly the disciples felt that an epoch-making crisis of divine action was at hand, though clearly too they did not understand what its nature would be. The rebuke to their curiosity as to its date is one which Christians took very long to lay to heart. Perhaps the discouragement of such calculation of time reflects a point of view which the Church only reached later, but which was then referred back to a definite utterance of Jesus (but cf. Mark 13³²). The expectation of a speedy return of Christ was general in the Church for one or two generations, until it learnt to treat as an ideal that which had begun by being an anticipation. Similar calculations of the date of the Second Advent still afford an occasional exercise for the ingenuity of pious foolishness.

8. *Jerusalem, Judaea, Samaria, the uttermost part of the earth* is the order in which the history of the Acts proceeds, and these words lay down its ground-plan.

9. This is the only undisputed account of the Ascension. Mark 16¹⁹ occurs in a passage which is a later interpolation, and

cannot be taken as contemporary evidence, but as a witness of sub-apostolic belief. In Luke 24⁵¹ the words 'and was carried up into heaven' are omitted in many ancient manuscripts.

The locality is placed by Acts in the neighbourhood of Olivet and Bethany. In Mark no note of place is given, but Mark 14²⁸, 16⁷ clearly imply that the disciples met the Risen Lord in Galilee; if so, and this is probably the earliest tradition, it was after they had become convinced of His Resurrection that they returned to Jerusalem and formed a community there. The whole of this tradition about a Galilean sojourn has been omitted by the author, who only knows the Jerusalemite tradition, and so places the community in Jerusalem, immediately after the Resurrection. The last scene in Matthew is placed in Galilee, but the account there is strictly limited, and may not be meant to record the final Appearance.

The 'levitation' seems to involve an accommodation—possibly inevitable—to the conception of the universe which was then current. But the story may simply mean that Christ disappeared much as He had disappeared on other occasions after His Resurrection; they did not at the time know that He would not reappear, any more than they had known on the occasion of His other Appearances. But they soon realized (taught, as they said, by angels) that this had been the last Appearance, and the Ascension was thus the 'sign' to them of a spiritual fact, of which they were convinced, viz. that henceforth Jesus was alive with God. This conviction ultimately rests on no physical wonder, but on the conviction of Faith that, in fact, heaven is the only place where Jesus ever was. If heaven is a condition of spirit, He never left it. He lived the heavenly life for a time under local limitations; He then continued to live it in freedom from such limitations. 'He ascended up that he might fill all things' (Eph. 4¹⁰).

The message of the 'men in white apparel' is presented as the germ of that assurance of Christ's Return, which was one of the strongest elements in early Christian belief. In the message the date of this Return is left indeterminate.

13. The *upper chamber* may have been that in which the Last Supper was held; probably the house belonged to Mary the mother of John Mark, as we find her house treated in Acts 12¹² as the chief centre for the Christian meetings. No systematic Christian organization is yet in existence; but certain sections are marked out by particular mention, most notably the Eleven, then 'Women' (not 'the' women, though it may mean those who accompanied Christ in Galilee, and Mary His Mother is specially named), and Jesus' brethren. The Eleven are obviously

the leaders, and they remained so for some time ; then, with the gradual withdrawal from Jerusalem of the Apostles, the primacy there fell to James, the Lord's brother ; and in the second and third generations of Christians he and his brothers came to be regarded almost as a sacred dynasty.

The list of the Twelve calls for no special comment. But we may note the mention of Simon the Zealot. According to Josephus, the ' Zealots ', a body of extreme Jewish patriots, did not arise under that name till the last days of Jerusalem, though the tendency of their party had existed under the name of ' the fourth philosophy ' since the days of the revolt under Judas of Galilee referred to in Acts 5³⁷. The inference then is either (1) that the name ' Zelôtes ' applied to Simon means ' the zealous one ', or (2) that the Evangelists thought the name referred to the political party of later days, or (3) that Simon actually joined the Zealots later.¹

14. *in prayer* : *lit.* ' in the prayer ' (τῇ προσευχῇ). Might the meaning be ' they were diligent in attendance at their synagogue (or prayer-assembly) ' ? The same point arises in reference to 6⁴. The Christians would at present seem to the Jews but another synagogue ; any ten Jews could form one, and there was nothing schismatic in doing so. And certainly the use of the article here implies something more definite than merely ' prayer '. The term *proseucha* was a regular Greek phrase for a Jewish synagogue or quasi-synagogue (cf. 16¹³).

I¹⁵⁻²⁶. THE WAITING CHURCH

I. 15. We must picture the Christians as assembling for a series of common prayer-meetings and conferences, which continue till Pentecost ; and we can imagine them to have been scenes of gradually gathering enthusiasm. Such a ' waiting ' for God at such a time could not but assume such a characteristic. But definite incidents for narration would necessarily be scanty ; and we are only told of two specialized events which marked the series, (1) the election of Matthias, (2) the climax of Pentecost.

The story of Matthias' appointment is detached from the main line of events in Acts. Nothing further comes of it, and Matthias does not reappear in the book. But the incident is quite natural (indeed we cannot conceive any reason why such a tradition, if invented, should have been connected with a person of such secondary importance as Matthias). The significance of the number twelve, and the shock of Judas'

¹ Cf. Kirsopp Lake, ' Simon Zelôtes ', in *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Jan. 1917.

defection, could not have failed to impress the first Christians. Peter's speech probably epitomizes the reflections by which they came to explain the apostasy, whilst the story of the election clearly reflects a genuine tradition as to the conditions of primitive Church organization.

This incident marks the unique position of the Twelve in the community. No official title is yet given to them ; in this passage their function is successively referred to as *διακονία*, *ἐπισκοπή*, *ἀποστολή* (vv. 17, 20, 25), the terms subsequently stereotyped for the offices of deacon, bishop, and apostle respectively. But the pre-eminence of the Twelve was inevitable. Christ Himself had selected them, and their number corresponded to that of the Twelve tribes. Since Judas had forfeited his place, the number must be made up ; and the disciples act, so far as possible, as if Jesus was still present, in their method of election.

16. Peter's speech is obviously directed to allay astonishment and dismay at the apostasy of one whom Christ had chosen. It was Judas' apostasy, and not his death, that made it necessary to fill the vacancy (subsequent vacancies caused by death were left unfilled) ; and clearly his behaviour had been the subject of reflection and discussion in the gathering. Peter explains that it had all been foretold in Scripture. Ps. 69²⁵, 109⁸ had pronounced a curse of desolation on the habitation of one who had been unfaithful in an *ἐπισκοπέ*, and had ordered his place to be filled. This is transferred to the history of the Messiah, and its fulfilment is found in Judas, because (*δρα* v. 17) he had received office, had been false, and his habitation was under a curse. Thus vv. 18 and 19 are not an author's parenthesis, but are needful for Peter's argument, though the translation of Akeldama is obviously made by the author for the benefit of Greek readers.¹

The use made of the argument from prophecy in this section is such as would appeal to Jews (whether Peter actually used these arguments, or the speech represents the reflections of the Christian community) ; it was the current style in the Jewish schools of the time, and is exemplified in Paul's Epistles, in the first Gospel, and in later Christian writings. Briefly, the idea was that every word of God was capable of application to subsequent acts of God's providence, and that, when God spoke it, He always had these future fulfilments in view. The Jews were thus ready to apply Old Testament texts indiscriminately (to our thinking) to elucidate the prospective history of the Messiah ; and Peter was only following the same method in elucidating the details in the story of Jesus, in Whom he saw the Messiah.

¹ Cf. Page's edition *ad loc.*

This method of exegesis persisted in the Rabbinical schools, whilst in the hands of Origen and other Christian scholars it developed into a system of allegorical interpretation of Old Testament texts, which lasted for centuries, until the school of historical criticism insisted on fixing attention on the question of the author's original meaning, and of what his contemporaries understood by his words.¹

18. This record of Judas' death is different from Matt. 27⁵, where Judas hangs himself, and the priests buy the field. Papias (born about A.D. 80) preserves a tradition that his body swelled, and he died on his own property. Harmonization of the two traditions in the New Testament has been attempted (e.g. by St. Augustine, who suggests that the rope broke and Judas was killed by the fall). Probably two or more versions of Judas' end were current in the early Church; but a bad end, connected with a spot known by the ill-omened name of Akeldama, seems common to all.

22. The witness to the Resurrection is the main topic of Peter's preaching, and indeed of all early Christian preaching. It was the crucial event which explained all that had preceded it, and justified the Messianic position ascribed to Christ. In Paul's Epistles the chief emphasis is laid on the preaching of the Cross; but to Paul the Cross is always seen in the light of the glory of the Resurrection. Thus the Resurrection is as determinative to him as to the other Christian preachers (cf. 13¹⁶ note).

II. THE BEGINNING OF THE MISSION

II. 1. *they were all together in company.* The place is not specified; it was probably the upper room of 13¹³; during one of the meetings implied in 14¹. But it certainly seems that, at

¹ Prof. Rendel Harris has accumulated a good deal of evidence for the theory that a collection of proof-texts (technically called 'testimonies') from the Old Testament, for use in Christian controversy with the Jews, came into existence in the Church at a very early date, that it was the first Christian written book, and that many Old Testament quotations in early Christian literature (e.g. in Paul's Epistles) are simply taken from such a collection. Of such use of 'testimonies' in Acts he instances the quotations in 13¹⁶⁻⁴¹, 15¹⁴⁻¹⁸, 26²³, 28^{26,27}. With regard to the earliest speeches in Acts he feels uncertain whether we can believe the collection to have existed so early as this; the speeches make use of texts which certainly became at a later date regular proof-texts; but these speeches may provide the first instance of their adoption as such. Of course, if the speeches are in some degree the composition of the author himself (cf. 2¹⁴ note), he would naturally use such proof-texts, as such use was the Apostolic method of controversy. (Cf. Rendel Harris, *Testimonies*, Parts I and II.)

any rate, the proceedings, if begun in the upper room, must have been continued in some more public place, where a multitude could be gathered and addressed.

2. The miracle contains two features ; (1) the sound 'as of' wind and the appearance 'as of' fire. Similar phenomena have not been unknown in similar cases of corporate religious ecstasy, where spiritual enthusiasm seems to be accompanied with outward manifestations (cf. the treatment of such phenomena in James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*). However this be explained, to the disciples the event came as the climax of their 'Retreat', and the expected sign that their work of witness was to begin : (2) the speaking with tongues. Obviously this is understood by the author to have been an endowment with the capacity of speaking foreign languages. But this interpretation is open to numerous objections : (a) the accusation of drunkenness scarcely suits ; (b) Peter makes no reference to such an endowment in his speech ; (c) no such phenomenon is recorded or implied in the similar events of Acts 10⁴⁶, 19⁶ ; (d) the endowment was superfluous ; if all present were Jews, Greek would be understood by all, and Peter's speech must have been in Greek or Aramaic ; (e) the gift of tongues as described in 1 Cor. 12-14 has nothing to do with foreign languages. There Paul plainly has in view the ecstatic utterance of unintelligible sounds of praise or prayer which needed interpretation (ib. 14¹⁴⁻¹⁹), and to unsympathetic hearers might sound like the utterances of demented people (ib. 14²³). Such a phenomenon soon died out in the early Church ; its last echoes may perhaps be heard in Ephesians 5^{18, 19} ; but the phenomenon has recurred in later sections of Christian enthusiasts, e.g. the Franciscans, the Quakers, the Methodists. It is natural to suppose that the manifestation at Pentecost was of similar character, though the ecstatic outpourings may have included some foreign words.¹ It is probable that the narrative has been to a certain extent amplified in tradition into a rhapsody, which sees it as the glorious augury of the universal significance of the Christian Gospel. The list of countries in verses 9-11 has the ring of a triumphal song, chanting the victories of the Christian message ; the implication is that, wherever it has gone, the effect has been the reversal of Babel ; all speak with one tongue, for all speak in one spirit. And of this victorious progress Pentecost was the first stage ; for the real effect of the Pentecostal event was

¹ Cf. Peake, *Bible Commentary*, *ad loc.* 'Perhaps foreign expressions heard long before and now called up from the subconsciousness under the stimulus of religious excitement. There are known parallels.'

that the disciples felt themselves uplifted, energized, and ready to act. They attain a sense of corporate self-consciousness and an astonishingly bold conviction of their mission.

5. These would be pilgrims from Palestine and the Dispersion. But Peter's speech is addressed (v. 14) to people of Judaea and Jerusalem, whom he assumes to be familiar with the events of Christ's Ministry.

9. No special principle is observed in the list. The first four are from interior Asia, the next six from the old Seleucid Kingdom, then Africa, then Rome are mentioned. 'Cretes and Arabians' seem to come as an awkward afterthought. The mention of Judaea was a difficulty to early commentators, but the name is in all MSS. It may mean Palestine and Aramaic-speaking Syria, as the list is rather one of languages than of areas.

14. The excitement was obvious. The question was whence did it come, what was its stimulus and what its meaning. Peter's speech (1) explains the sign; it is due to the outpouring of the Spirit, foretold in Joel 2²⁸⁻³² as a characteristic of the coming Messianic age: (2) connects the outpouring with Jesus, whose Resurrection vindicates his title to be the Messiah: (3) challenges the hearers to acceptance of Him as such. Note that these early speeches do not set forth any systematic theology with regard to Christ, though v. 33 shows the direction in which Christian theology was to go. Their language is rather that of devotion and praise than of systematic theology. The work of Paul later was to begin the process of systematizing Christian thought until it could be summarized in a definite creed. At present Christian teaching rested on the conception that Jesus was 'the Messiah', 'the Christ' ('Christ' appears both as a title and a name in Acts, but the latter use is always in connexion with some formula of faith, and may be due to the author's familiarity with the Christian usage of his own time), and transferred to Him all that current Jewish thought had come to expect in the Messiah; and this included a supernatural position in the universe. Jesus, being the Christ, was to judge the world; His Resurrection and Ascension were a definite authentication by God of His position; and the requirement of Baptism into His name assigned to Him a status superior to that of any merely human prophet. God has made Him both Lord and Christ (v. 36). On the term 'Christ' cf. further, Essay at end of cap. 5. On 'Lord' cf. 9¹ note, where it is suggested that the term was probably read back into the speech here from the later usage of Gentile churches.

The speeches in Acts differ in historical quality. Some of

Paul's may reasonably be regarded as either verbatim summaries or as based on the memory of some who heard them. The earlier speeches are more likely to be free compositions of the author (or of his source), expressing his view of what must have been said on the various occasions. But they certainly seem to be either based on genuine information or to reflect a genuinely primitive tradition of the Christian preaching of those times. There is enough differentiation between them, according to the characteristics of the various speakers (thus the speech of Stephen is obviously different in tone from those of Peter) and to the circumstances of the occasion or locality, to suggest that they are at least based on reminiscence. They can be accepted as embodying the standard Christian expression, as for long current in Palestinian Christianity, of the earliest Church doctrine, and the standard method of supporting it from Old Testament history. In such a sense they are historical; if this is not exactly what was said, it is the kind of thing that was said, and the kind of way in which it was put.

17. *all flesh*. In Joel only all Israel is intended. Peter can hardly yet mean much more, and by 'all that are afar off' (v. 39) would mean directly the Jews of the Dispersion. It was not till later that he was led to contemplate the possibility of the extension of the Messianic blessing to Gentiles as such. But even now he may at least have felt that the Gentiles, if they became proselytes of Judaism, were admissible to a place in the Messianic Kingdom. Indeed this was in theory the view of Judaism itself; and though in Palestine it never led to any active effort of proselytism, in the Dispersion every synagogue had its circumcised members from the surrounding heathenism, as well as its circle of uncircumcised adherents to—at least—the moral rules of the Mosaic Law. Cf. 6⁸ note.

The quotation follows the Septuagint version, as mostly elsewhere in Acts.

22. *Jesus the Nazoraean*. So seven times in Acts, also in Matthew and John; Nazaraean in Mark and Luke. Cf. Matt. 2²³, where a play upon words is suggested. The original reference of the term is doubtful, but it may have been a nickname of reproach (meaning perhaps 'tower-dweller', or 'pagan'; cf. 2 Kings 17⁹), which received extra point from Christ's early connexion with Nazareth. In itself the term probably does not mean 'of Nazareth'.

The argument is: Jesus, shown by His works to be approved of God, had been slain by the Jews, through the agency of the Gentiles (who were 'lawless', i.e. outside the law of Moses).

This national judgement God had reversed in raising Jesus (the basis of the Resurrection thus lying in the love of the Father). Thus Ps. 16⁸⁻¹¹, which did not apply to David, was applicable to a descendant of David, as seen by comparison with Ps. 89⁴, 132¹¹; and this descendant, the Messiah (v. 31), is Jesus. And Ps. 110¹ foretells the reign of such a Messiah as Jesus has been shown to be; therefore the challenge is to them to accept Him.

37. The obvious impressiveness of the spiritual manifestation, interpreted by such an array of prophetic argument, prompts the question. If these are 'the last days', there is clear need of haste.

38. *Repent.* If Peter is right, the nation has been guilty of a collective sin, from which they must dissociate themselves (v. 40).

be baptized. Henceforth the universal requirement of all intending converts. It came about very naturally. In Judaism the baptism (as well as circumcision) of proselytes was common, as a symbolic act of purification from heathen defilement. John the Baptist used the rite to symbolize the moral purification necessary in preparation for the coming Kingdom. And any baptisms by Jesus and His disciples during His Ministry, though the fourth Gospel (3²² compared with 4²) denies that Jesus Himself baptized, must have had the same intention as John the Baptist's. Baptism into the Name of Jesus the Christ can hardly have begun until the Resurrection and Ascension had finally convinced the disciples that Jesus was the Messiah. But now such Baptism, involving the formal confession of belief in Jesus as the Messiah and bringing incorporation into the circle of believers in Him as such, would be the pledge of a share in His Messianic Kingdom; and the earnest of this share was the gift of the Holy Ghost (v. 38), sealing their place as 'called', according to the prophecy of Joel 2³² and Isa. 57¹⁹ (v. 39), and conveying the remission of their sins (v. 38).

It has been suggested that the references to baptism here and in 10⁴⁷ are an insertion of the author's, from his knowledge of what had become the custom in Gentile churches. Certainly Acts 1⁵ might seem to imply that baptism in the Spirit was to take the place of baptism in water, and we note that there is no reference to baptism in the summary at the end of chapter 4. The suggestion, then, is¹ that the regular requirement of baptism arose in the work of the Seven (appointed in cap. 6) among the non-Jews, and that the Twelve had till then been content with the baptism of the Spirit, without requiring baptism in water; but

¹ Cf. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. i.

that the author of Acts, being a Gentile Christian, read back the custom of the Gentile churches into the early history of the Jerusalem church. This is a plausible theory, but it rests on slight grounds. The phrase in Acts 1⁵ is a quotation, and need not be interpreted too rigidly. The omission of reference to baptism at the end of chapter 4 is insignificant. There was sufficient precedent in Jewish usage to make it likely that the Twelve made a regular practice of baptism from the first; and apparently the Messiah had been expected to baptize (if Jn. 1²⁵ preserves a true record of Jewish opinion). There is nothing in the least improbable in the view that the Twelve baptized their converts, as a definite sealing of them for the Messianic Kingdom. The use of water for ceremonial lustrations or initiations was so common that it would be strange if the Twelve had not followed it; the novelty was not the disuse of water, but the new spiritual potency that followed on baptism into the Christian community.

But the doctrine, as distinct from the practice, of baptism must have undergone considerable development in exposition, when Christianity began to look for a means of attracting the heathen world; and Paul probably found in the heathen mystery-religions ideas which he could take over into Christianity to explain Christian customs in such a way as to commend them to heathen converts. The earliest baptismal doctrine of the Church was based on the simple fact that the act of self-devotion in accepting baptism, by which the convert entered the sphere of the infectious enthusiasm of the Christian society, became a clear moment of new power to him. He was baptized, and, as a matter of mere fact, he did actually receive 'holy spirit'. Later doctrine, in Paul and others, probably borrowed some forms of expression from the mystery-religions; but in the best expositions we can still see that what underlies all such language is really the systematic development, in terms of 'mystery', of the primitive idea. In baptism the convert transplants himself, or is transplanted, out of the circle of 'the world' (where the Spirit, though active, is not the acknowledged centre), into the circle of the Church (where God in Christ is the avowedly dominant influence). Cf. 2⁴⁰. Baptism therefore effects a change of status, which places the baptized in a different spiritual atmosphere, and in a new relation to Christ and, through Christ, to God. This, broadly, is the meaning of the phrase 'to be baptized into the Name of Jesus Christ' (cf. 3⁶ note). Baptism is the entrance into the sphere of action and authority of Jesus the Christ, who is the object of the new allegiance.

The baptismal formula is of the simplest kind, as everywhere

else in Acts. The Trinitarian formula of Matt. 28¹⁹ is not mentioned. Probably that formula in Matthew comes from later liturgical use, and is not part of Christ's original words, and the first baptisms would be simply 'in' or 'into the Name of Jesus Christ'. But of course the Threefold Name of God is at least as old as Paul, and he seems to use it as no novelty.

41. The number is a rough estimate, and the baptisms need not all have taken place on the same day.

42. The challenge had been of experience to experiment. And in the result it was justified. A real unity showed itself in the new community; based on (1) 'the Apostles' teaching'. There was no written Gospel or Christian literature; the Old Testament was the only Bible of the early Church. The society looked like a Rabbi's school, of which the Apostles were the regular teachers. (2) But it was more than a school. It was a Brotherhood, continuing stedfastly in 'fellowship', i.e. in organic mutual relations of the members. This is further defined in v. 44 as leading to a voluntary (Acts 5⁴) communism of goods. This experiment never reached beyond Jerusalem; and the poverty to which the church at Jerusalem was soon reduced (evidenced by the fact that Paul appeals to the Gentile churches to assist it; cf. Gal. 2¹⁰) proves that it was economically a failure.¹ But it seemed at present obvious and natural, especially in view of the general expectation of the speedy Return of Christ. (3) This fellowship was made concrete in a common ceremony, 'the breaking of bread' (the Bezan text reads 'the fellowship of the breaking of the bread'). This refers to the domestic gatherings of the society in the houses of its members, at which a common loaf and cup were shared—later called the *Agapé* or Love-feast. To this communal meal a reproduction of the Last Supper was attached as a Eucharistic commemoration. The two elements were soon separated (1 Cor. 11³⁴ probably marks the beginning of the separation), but at present the combination was the centre of the life of fellowship (v. 46). (4) They also joined in common 'prayers'. This would refer both to the prayers at the Common Meal, and to those at other private gatherings, corresponding to the worship of the synagogue (cf. 20⁷ note). It would include also common prayers in the Temple. The Christians had not yet ceased to attend the Temple and synagogues, and to the Jews they would look like another sect within Judaism, to which the name 'Nazoraeans' was apparently given. The Church had

¹ The tone of this passage, however, suggests that Luke did not realize its failure, but regarded it as the triumph of brotherly feeling.

attained self-consciousness as a Society, but had not yet separated overtly from the body of Judaism, nor probably yet felt any call to do so.

43. The summary is a broad statement of the general results of the inauguration of the Christian mission. They are :

A. Outside the Church :

- (1) fear, accentuated by the wonders and signs attributed to the Apostles, of which chapter 3 gives an instance ;
- (2) favour, with the people as a whole, to whom they would appear as a favourable specimen of Jewish religionists ; this favour is evidenced by the growth of the Church's numbers.

B. Inside the Church :

- (1) unity, displayed in common prayer at the Temple, common meals at home, and community of goods ;
- (2) joy, a characteristic of the early Christians, which especially attracted the Jewish world (as later the Gentile), which had grown melancholy and dispirited under the yoke of foreign domination and religious legalism, and the sense of waning inspiration. Joy (gladness) and brotherly love seem to have been the two qualities in the Christian Society which especially appealed to Luke himself, as the permanent moral outcome of its spiritual enthusiasm, and that which constituted its chief attractiveness.

47. *added to them.* The Greek is ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, and the meaning here is an enigma. It ordinarily means 'together', 'in company', as in v. 1 of this chapter ; if so, the Greek must mean 'the Lord was joining the elect together'. It has been suggested that it is the translation of an Aramaic word which usually means 'together', but in Judæan Aramaic means 'exceedingly'. If the writer found this word in his source, he might, not understanding the local peculiarity of the Judæan idiom, have translated it by ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. A further suggestion is that the Aramaic words translated by τοὺς σωζομένους might have contained a preposition signifying either the dative or the direct object, and that thus the original sentence in the source may have run 'the Lord added greatly day by day to the saved'. 'The Lord' here may refer either to God or to Jesus.

ESSAY A. 'THE SPIRIT' IN ACTS

Acts is permeated through and through with the belief in a spiritual power responsible for all the chief decisions and actions that mark the history of the Church.

This belief had had its anticipations in the earlier references of Jewish literature to the 'Spirit of God' and the divine 'Wisdom'. The Spirit of God in the Old Testament is a phrase for the vital energy of the divine nature, and is regarded as the creative and vitalizing force of the world, and as the source, in men, of abnormal skill or strength or wisdom, of prophetic ecstasy or inspiration, and of moral purity. The divine Wisdom, often connected, sometimes identified, with the Spirit, appears as a medium—frequently spoken of as if a person—of divine influence which makes men 'friends of God and prophets' (Wisd. of Sol. 7²⁷). Both to the Spirit and to Wisdom personal qualities and personal acts are freely attributed; and in the Alexandrian Jewish literature Wisdom is invested with an almost personal existence.

These are anticipations of Christian belief, and no doubt predisposed the early Christians to develop the doctrine of a personal Spirit ruling the Church's affairs. The factors more immediately at work amongst them were: (1) probably the teaching of Jesus. The teaching in the fourth Gospel has been remoulded by the individuality of its writer, but it indicates that Jesus Himself taught more definitely about the Spirit than the Synoptic Gospels record; (2) certainly the current belief that the Messianic age would be one marked by an outpouring of the Spirit, and the consequent liberation of spiritual energies in mankind.

But the most direct influence in the moulding of the thoughts of the early Church was personal experience. The members believed in Jesus as the Messiah, and in the circle of believers in Him they saw the Messianic community, of which the Messiah was head. Within that circle they experienced a dynamic energy which showed itself in outward 'signs' like the 'tongues', and in a genuine transformation of individual character, though in Acts the 'signs' are (though not exclusively; cf. the cases of Stephen and Barnabas, 6¹⁰, 11²⁴) more noticed and emphasized. This energy they ascribed to the continuous living activity of Jesus, and called by the name 'holy spirit', which was thus the link between the Messianic community and its Head. The basis, let us note, was a fact of experience; the enthusiasm was actually there and became theirs; and the phrase 'holy spirit' was their interpretation of the fact. It was part of the current theology to ascribe any startling occurrence to 'spirit'. Plainly the Christians claimed such occurrences to be due to the Spirit of Jesus; the power of miracle which He had shown in person was continued in these effects of His Spirit. The tongues, the cure of the lame man, the eloquence of Stephen, the shaking

of the place of assembly, are all referred to this cause. The interest in miracles which Acts shows is thus really an interest in the Spirit which proceeds from Jesus Christ. His power and love and desire to heal are manifested in them; they are the effects and signs of His continued existence and exalted power.

The term 'holy spirit' in Acts is therefore not one of systematic theology, but of religious experience. Its meaning oscillates between a person and an influence. The difference may often be noted by observing the presence or absence of the definite article in the Greek, though ultimately the context must decide the right shade of meaning. But the phrase always means a divine influence proceeding from Christ, under which men come within the circle of the Messianic community, viz. the society of those who accept Jesus as Messiah. This influence is often represented from the human side as a power in man, and might be translated 'holy enthusiasm', e.g. where people are spoken of as full of 'holy spirit' or as baptized 'in holy spirit'. At other times it is represented from the divine side as a Power from God, personally indwelling man, and is called 'the Spirit, the Holy Spirit'; in such phrases as 'to lie to the Holy Spirit' (5³), 'it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us' (15²⁸), 'the Holy Spirit spake' or 'hindered' (16⁶, 28²⁵), such a conception is plainly involved. We may say that, if the Spirit is not yet clearly regarded as personal in the full philosophical sense of the term, the conception in Acts trembles on the verge of ascribing personality to the Spirit. And there is no need to attribute such personalization to the influence of later Church ideas on the author. Probably even the first Christians were ready so to personalize. The Jews, as we saw, had gone part of the way in that direction. The Christians perhaps tended to go a little farther. But at present their personal experience was self-sufficing; they did not reduce their interpretation to systematic theology; they preferred rather to appreciate the work of the Spirit, as shown in 'signs', in increased power and heightened qualities of character. In laying this emphasis on the power of the Spirit, Acts gives us real illumination as to the ideas and beliefs of the early Church, and the way in which the transition was made from the life of the disciples during Jesus' earthly ministry to the developed Church life of the Apostolic age.

Paul, in his Epistles, does not speculatively carry on the conception very much, but he develops it very fully on its ethical side. While not ignoring the fruits of the Spirit in abnormal gifts, he decidedly exalts in comparison the fruits of moral quality (cf. 1 Cor. 12 and 13). Partly he may be indebted to Jewish

ideas in his treatment, but partly too he must have become imbued with that Christian interpretation of the facts of Church life which was so dominant in the Church when he joined it. To him union with Christ, to be 'in Christ', is to be open to all the divine energies concentrated in Christ, is to be 'in the Spirit', as contrasted with being 'in the flesh', a term which he uses of the sinful nature of man unilluminated by Christian grace. A progress in his thought is perceptible in his various Epistles. In 1 and 2 Thessalonians, the Spirit is spoken of, much as in Acts, as the source of spiritual gifts. But in his later letters the Spirit acquires a greater distinctness of personality, as the Giver or Dispenser of individual graces and of the corporate qualities of the Church's healthy life; the thought approximates to the full conception of the Personality of the Holy Spirit, as it is expressed in the Nicene Creed. We are not always sure whether, by 'the spirit', he means the action of the Spirit of God in man, or the spirit of man under the power of God. But to him, as in Acts, the divine Spirit is always in the background, as the ultimate agent of all good both in the individual Christian's life and in that of the Church as a whole.

The question of the nature of the Spirit's relation to God is never formally raised in the New Testament. He is certainly treated as divine and uncreated, and is invested with divine prerogatives. Personal names and offices are ascribed, and personal qualities and actions are freely attributed, to Him. We find this method of conception in Acts, and Paul only carries it somewhat further, and seems at times to distinguish definitely the Spirit from God in regard to His offices, whilst in some doxological or liturgical phrases he reaches the statement of the tri-personality of God. But he never expounds the personality of the Spirit as a definite doctrine. If we had Paul's letters by themselves, we might be inclined to call his treatment a deliberate effort at personification. But, when we come to the fourth Gospel, we see that the tendency, begun in Acts and carried further in Paul, has been a general tendency to realize the Spirit as having a distinct personal existence, and we recognize that the end of the process of thought, as we see it in that Gospel, shows in maturity that towards which Christian thinkers, in the earlier stages of the process, had all been groping. The Personality of the Holy Spirit was the thought-form, by which the Church eventually was led to interpret that personal spiritual influence, of which the Christians were conscious from the beginning; and earlier Christian thought was unconsciously feeling its way towards such a doctrinal interpretation. (Cf. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*; Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v.)

III¹-V⁴². GROWTH AND OPPOSITION

III. 1. It has been suggested¹ that 3-5¹⁶ is a 'doublet' of 2 and 5¹⁷⁻⁴², and is the more genuine account of the Church's infancy. On this theory, the events actually happened in this order: (1) cure of the lame man, and preaching, (2) intervention of the authorities, (3) a spiritual outpouring (4³¹; this would be the real Pentecostal event); the other tradition (in 2 and 5¹⁷⁻⁴²) is later and less trustworthy; and the author, or his source, simply put the two narratives side by side. Arguments for this view are: (1) the duplication of action by the authorities, and of the summaries of progress, causes one to suspect a duplicated record of a single event; (2) in cap. 2 nothing leads up to Pentecost; (3) it is incredible that the authorities did not intervene after the preaching and events of cap. 2.

Such a simplification of the course of events is plausible; and we may agree that cap. 2 seems to show more signs of amplification in transmission than caps. 3 and 4, in which the narrative is extraordinarily immediate. But that some such event as that of 2²⁻⁴ must have happened as a result of the Church's 'Retreat' is altogether probable. The prayer-meetings of the Christians in the days after the Ascension must have been (as has been said) marked by gathering enthusiasm, of which the spiritual manifestation on the day of Pentecost is the fitting climax. And if a somewhat similar event took place in 4³¹, after the first encounter with the authorities, the recurrence is not psychologically improbable. It is possible that, in cc. 1-5, where Luke probably had somewhat uncertain tradition to go upon, he is trying not so much to give an orderly sequence of events as to produce the impression of these earliest days in a series of typical generalized scenes, meant to show the kind of trial which the Christians had constantly to endure, the general line of advance, the sort of spiritual experience which renewed the vigour of the Church and attracted inquirers from outside. To prune such a history to a formal regularity is a pedantic attempt which may lead a critic very much astray.

The cure is regarded by the author as miraculous. We can call it a 'faith-cure', which is no explanation whatever, and only means that it is an instance of that inter-relation of spiritual and physical, the law of which we can even yet only dimly glimpse. The same applies to the many other similar narratives in Acts. Such are 5¹⁵ the shadow of Peter, 8⁷ Philip at Samaria, 9¹⁸ Saul's recovery from blindness, 9³⁴ the cure of Aeneas, 14¹⁰ the cure of the

¹ e. g. by Harnack, *op. cit.*; c. vi.

cripple at Lystra, 14²⁰ Paul's recovery from stoning, 16¹⁶, 19¹⁴ exorcisms, 19¹¹ handkerchiefs from Paul's body, 28⁸, 9 cures at Melita. Some of these may be normal events to which an abnormal character has been imparted in course of tradition. Similar phenomena have occurred in other ages under the influence of strong religious enthusiasm.

6. *name*: a term of strong significance in Jewish minds, implying the authority, power, or office of him whose name is used. We note the very early confidence of the Christian appeal to the Power of Jesus. The power which He had exercised when on earth is now continued through His Spirit.

Jesus, the Christ, the Nazoraean. Cf. 2²² note.

11. *Solomon's Portico*, or Colonnade, was outside the Temple; so they must by now have left the Temple. The Bezan text reads, 'When Peter and John were going out, he went with them, holding them, and they stood astonished in the porch which is called Solomon's.'

12. Peter's speech is on the same general lines as that in cap. 2. (1) The miracle is connected with Jesus; (2) the Jews had killed Him, though the Gentiles were willing to release Him; but this national judgement had been reversed by God, and Jesus was proved by the Resurrection to be the Messiah, the greater prophet foretold in Deut. 18¹⁵; (3) the challenge to repent is begun, but the speech is interrupted. The speech is distinguished by (1) its strong Messianic cast of language. Thus Jesus is called God's Christ (v. 18), the holy and righteous One (v. 14), which possibly was a recognized title of the Messiah (cf. Acts 7⁵²); (2) its sketch of the process of Messianic redemption. The Messianic age is now dawning. Jesus is at present the mediator of seasons of revival from heaven, to those who repent, and is so preparing for the eventual 'restoration' (perhaps the translation of an Aramaic word meaning rather 'fulfilment') on earth of all things which have been prophesied; this, according to Jewish hope, would mean the subduing of humanity to God, and the destruction of evil and death in the world; (3) its justification of the sufferings of Jesus as prophesied of the Messiah. This idea, only hinted in 2²³, is now explicitly deduced from the Old Testament in v. 18; and the title 'God's servant' (*lit.* 'child': the Greek word can mean either), applied to Jesus in v. 13, looks like a reminiscence of the same title applied to God's Righteous Servant in Isa. 42¹, 52¹³, 53¹¹, LXX version. (Note that this title is Greek; there is no word in Hebrew or Aramaic with a similar ambiguity. Probably, therefore, it was in use among

Greek Christians, and has here been read back into the mouths of the early Christians of Jerusalem.)

13. *glorified*, aorist: referring to the earthly life of Jesus, which had been glorified by the Messianic vocation, and had been a life of blessing (v. 26), because it had been a call to repent.

15. *Prince* (ἀρχηγόν), 'author' or 'inaugurator'. The word is used in Acts 5³¹, Heb. 2¹⁰, 12².

16. *his name, through faith in his name*. An intolerably awkward phrase. The colon can be transferred to stand after 'name' instead of after 'witnesses', the meaning thus being 'whereof we are witnesses, even to the faith in his name. This man his name hath made strong.' But possibly we have here the misrendering of an ambiguous Aramaic original, which said 'by faith in his name he hath made him strong'. The faith referred to would primarily be that of the Apostles; but it might also be that of the man, shown in his obedience to the command.

17. *through ignorance*. This is a very primitive touch. There was hope of their repentance, because their action had been done in ignorance. So our Lord had prayed 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do', a prayer which the early fathers rightly said referred to the Jews responsible for His Crucifixion. Later on, this hope gave way to the thought of the divine rejection of the Jews. At present Peter could say 'Unto you first' (v. 26), i.e. to the Jews first, and then to the Gentiles through the Jews, and so Paul appealed to the Jews first, before turning to the Gentiles. But in Rom. 11²⁵ Paul's thought is that the fulness of the Gentiles is first to enter in, and so (afterwards) all Israel shall be saved.

26. *having raised up*: i.e. having sent into the world, referring to the prophecy just quoted, 'a prophet shall the Lord God raise up.'

IV. 1. The Crucifixion had caused no overt breach with Judaism. The new movement might well seem to have been annihilated by the death of Jesus. But now it looks as if it was reviving, and the authorities take alarm. It is the Sadducees who act; this was a general name for the members of the high-priestly families, of whom the High Priest was the head, the superintendent of the Temple-guard of Levites (himself a priest) being his chief executive officer. Their policy was purely worldly; their *forte* was politics, and their desire was to do nothing to provoke Rome and the Roman order, under which they enjoyed such authority as they possessed. In religious views they were old-fashioned rationalists, who denied the new beliefs in the Resurrection and in Angels, which were now popular and were

fervently embraced by the Pharisees. Thus their quarrel with the Apostles was (1) that they, not being accredited or professional teachers (this is the meaning of 'unlearned and ignorant' in v. 13), not only preached the doctrine of the Resurrection, and preached it in the Temple, which was under the charge of the Priests, but supported it by the assertion of the actual resurrection of one whom they had executed (v. 2 is 'proclaimed the resurrection of the dead in the case of Jesus', cf. 13³³). And, which was worse, (2) this teaching was exciting popular enthusiasm and might stir up a Messianic movement that would be likely to provoke Roman intervention. On the other hand the Pharisees seem inclined to temporize, or even to favour the new sect (Gamaliel's speech in cap. 5 may be taken to indicate this attitude); probably because the Christians did preach the resurrection, and their attitude at present did not seem so hostile to Pharisaic legalism as Christ's had been, nor was it so till Stephen's preaching. The Pharisees, too, were not so inclined to consider Roman susceptibilities, nor would they view unfavourably a movement which caused trouble to their Sadducean rivals. So at present they held aloof from interference, until Stephen's teaching drove them into hostility to the Christian community.

5. The *scribes* were the expert expositors of the Law of Moses. Most of them were Pharisees, and they are more usually found in company with the Pharisees.

6. *Annas* had been deposed by the Romans from the high priesthood, in A.D. 14, but retained the courtesy title; his son-in-law Caiaphas was now official high priest, but was deposed by the Romans in A.D. 37, and succeeded by two of Annas' sons in turn.

We know nothing of John and Alexander, but the mention of the names suggests a well-informed source. The Bezan text, in place of John, has Jonathan, who was a son of Annas, and succeeded Caiaphas as high priest (Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 4).

7. *power*, *δυνάμει*, not the word for 'authority' (*ἐξουσία*); the question may be an attempt to extort a confession of magical incantation, which would be contrary to the Law.

9. *by what means*; or perhaps 'in whom'; answered by *ἐν τούτῳ* 'in Him', in v. 10.

11. Ps. 118²², applied to Himself by Christ.

12. *salvation*; better 'the salvation', i.e. the Messianic deliverance of Israel.

13. No mention is made of John's speech, but the narrative is only summary; he is obviously assumed to have spoken. But John plays a merely mute part wherever he appears in Acts.

they took knowledge of them, that they had been with Jesus. Of course they knew this before, but the point is that the recrudescence of the movement, which Jesus had begun, was now forced on their attention. But they could do nothing. They could not punish the Apostles, for they had committed no illegality; they dared not keep them in ward, because of the popular excitement; they had no power to kill them (Stephen was murdered in a sudden riot). Their chief wish was to suppress the movement, and a policy of silencing the Apostles was their only avenue.

15. The question arises, how did our authority know the course of the debate (the question is even more pointed in regard to the debate in cap. 5, where formal speeches are summarized). The information might have come from Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathea, or from somebody in the assembly who had acquaintances among the Christians. But here, at least, the motives and thoughts of the Sadducees could easily be inferred from their actions.

23. *to their own company*; at some regular centre for their meetings, perhaps the upper chamber of Acts 1¹³. There must have been more than one such centre; the Christians with larger houses would allow them to be so used.

24. *Lord*. Not κύριος, the word applied to Christ in Acts 2³⁶ and generally in the New Testament, but δέσποτα = Master, the converse of which is δοῦλος = slave, as found in v. 29 below, 'grant unto thy slaves'. The prayer is addressed to God.

25. The quotation from Ps. 2¹ is introduced in the text by an incoherent and untranslatable collection of words; no version can do more than make the best of an impossible phrase. It has been suggested that the (supposed) Aramaic original has been misread in translation, and that the sentence there was 'that which' (i.e. 'as') 'our father David thy servant said by the Holy Spirit' (in apposition to the quotation). Certainly this gives a real and possible sense.

David thy servant. The same word as is applied to Jesus in v. 27, as also in 3¹³.

27. *whom thou didst anoint*. If a single occasion was in mind, it would be Christ's baptism, which in Acts 1²² is cited as the starting-point of His Ministry. But the reference is probably general, and the phrase (as in 10³⁸) is merely a paraphrase for 'Christ', and is here meant as an assertion that Jesus is the 'Anointed of God' mentioned in the psalm.

28. We note their complete confidence that Jesus' fate had been in accordance with the divine design.

31. *the Holy Ghost*; probably personal, as the definite article is

used, which was absent in v. 8, and this is obviously marked as a special occasion of spiritual energizing.

The excitement in the disciples' minds seems to take effect on the place in which they are. Similar phenomena have been noted in similar conditions. Thus George Fox in his journal records how, at a prayer-meeting at Mansfield, 'the Lord's power was so great that the house seemed to be shaken'.

32. Another summary, very like the previous one in the end of cap. 2. If the two narratives are not doublets, the interval of time between them must have been short. Here the points selected for mention are: (1) the unanimity of the Christians; (2) the community of goods, practised not as a formal system of administration but as a natural expression of Christian feeling; (3) the boldness of the Apostles' preaching.

33. The order of the Greek words (in WH's text) suggests the rendering 'the apostles of the Lord Jesus gave their witness of the Resurrection'. If so, this is a primitive touch, from a time when the title 'the apostles', by itself, had not yet become a stereotyped phrase.

34. This selling of property was not universal, for a special case is mentioned. But various people did it now and then, as need arose. Thus a common fund would come into being, which the Apostles administered.

36. *Barnabas*. The suggested derivation might be from the Hebrew *Bar-nabi* = son of a prophet, which would give 'Son of exhortation', or from the Aramaic *Bar-Nevahah* = Son of refreshment, which would give 'Son of consolation'. The Greek word is *παρακλῆσις*, which could mean either 'exhortation' or 'consolation'; the same idea is found in the title *παράκλητος* = Paraclete, applied to the Holy Spirit. The proper derivation of Barnabas is said to be *Bar-nebous* = Son of Nebo (a devil). If so, the interpretation was intended as a euphemism, and *μεθερμηνεύμενον* might mean 'interpreted euphemistically'.

Barnabas, the companion of Paul in his first missionary journey, was a Hellenistic Jew, of a Levitical family, from Cyprus, which was the first place that he and Paul visited on that journey. He is specified here, either because of his later prominence in the story, or because his case was regarded as special or perhaps as setting the example.

V. 1. The picture of cap. 4 has its reverse side. The Church is not the perfect Kingdom; the Christians might have been speculating whether it was; certainly the story of Ananias and Sapphira seems to reveal a feeling of shock caused to the early Church by the presence of gross sin in its midst.

The death of Ananias by itself is not difficult to credit, if we remember the excitement of the time. The sudden detection of his guilt may well have produced a mortal convulsion of feeling in him. And note that Peter does not invoke death upon him; he may have excommunicated him (cf. 1 Cor. 5⁵), but the death may have been a surprise to Peter himself.

According to the story, the fate of Ananias had given Peter reason to expect the same fate for Sapphira. But the addition of Sapphira adds such improbability as lies in a coincidence. The basis of the whole narrative may be the appalling fate of a notoriously unsatisfactory Christian couple; this fate the Christian ideas of the time would naturally regard as a direct judgement on sin.

The burials take place very rapidly, and no mention is made of an inquiry into the circumstances. This is strange; but the interest of the story is wholly in the fate of the two and its explanation.

3. *to lie to*. Better 'to cheat'. Note that to cheat the Holy Spirit is described as 'lying unto God'.

6. *the young men* (*lit.* 'younger'). Who were these? It may imply some organization (cf. 1 Tim. 5¹, 1 Pet. 5⁵), in which the younger men are distinguished from the presbyters or elders. But it may be merely a natural statement that some of the juniors carried out the burials.

11. *the church*. The first use of this term in Acts. In the Greek sense it was used for a formal assembly, and we find it so used in Acts 19³²; but among the Jews it was a familiar word for the congregation of Israel, as in Acts 7³⁸. Acts usually means by it the body of believers in a neighbourhood.

12. Another summary. That which the Sadducees had feared is happening. The movement is spreading even outside Jerusalem.

Verses 12^b-14 look like an editorial addition. v. 15 follows naturally on 12^a. The Christians appear here as having a fixed place of teaching in Solomon's Porch. If so, the action was a public flouting of the authorities, which seems strange, but not stranger than the continued preaching in the Temple, mentioned in v. 42.

13. *none dared join them*. If this is right, 'the rest' means the non-Christians, collectively, and 'the people' the lower orders. Another explanation gives 'the rest (of the Christians) durst not join (i.e. trench on the prerogative of) the Apostles; but the people as a whole magnified them'. It is doubtful if the Greek can bear

this sense. True, 'the rest', as distinguished from the Apostles just mentioned, might mean 'the rank and file of the Church'; and the Apostles were no doubt tending to take an official pre-eminence. But could *κολλᾶσθαι* (*lit.* 'be cemented to them') mean 'usurp their privileges'? It has been suggested that we have here the mistranslation of an Aramaic word which meant 'contend with'.

15. Healing is implied, though not stated. Cf. what has been said on the faith-cure in cap. 3¹ note.

17. A new attack from the Sadducees results, ascribed now to jealousy. The movement is becoming important, and therefore the more dangerous. The story here is very like that in chapter 4, though here the Apostles in general are imprisoned, and the course of the debate is given more circumstantially. The arguments used might certainly have become public knowledge, but the speech of Gamaliel seems to have been composed by the author, though perhaps it is based on general information. The story of the inquiry may be a doublet of chapter 4, but it is quite possible that the situation recurred.

19. *angel*. No reference to this is made by the Apostles; and the release may have been due to human connivance or help, regarded as a divine providence; as in the O. T. the word 'angel' is often used to express an impersonal agent of God, e.g. in the pestilence that came on Israel, or the destruction of Sennacherib's army.

20. *the words of this Life*. A strange and unparalleled phrase, meaning the message of Jesus' Resurrection and of life through Him. Perhaps as the Christians called the Christian faith 'this Way', they also called it 'this Life'.

21. *about daybreak*, for the Temple gates were locked during the night.

senate. The word is *ἡγεμονία*, the word used of a City-Senate. The Sanhedrin was the Jewish Senate; so either this verse shows an imperfect knowledge of Jewish affairs, or it means that, besides the Sanhedrin, a general unofficial gathering of elders was also summoned. But the word hardly conveys that impression.

24. *whereunto this would grow*. Better 'what this could mean'. A similar phrase is used in 10¹⁷.

28. They might rouse the people to blame the rulers for Jesus' death and take revenge for it; and Jewish revenge was likely to be bloody.

29. Peter's speech simply states: (1) you crucified Jesus; (2) God reversed your judgement by raising and exalting Him; (3) and we are witnesses 'of these things', i.e. of the Messianic salvation through Him. (The Greek is 'of these words', a Hebraism, as in 10³⁷, *lit.* 'the saying which took place'.)

31. *Prince*. The same word as in 3¹⁵.

32. *and so is the Holy Ghost*, as shown in the power of the Apostles. The marginal reading 'and God hath given the Holy Ghost to them that obey him' is less satisfactory.

34. *Ġamaliel*. A famous Rabbi or teacher of the Law, and the tutor of Paul. He belonged to the more open-minded school of Hillel, as opposed to the more bigoted school of Shammai. His advice may have been due to policy, or to a genuine impression, or to both.

36. According to Josephus (*Antiq.* xx. 5), Theudas led a 'very great multitude' in insurrection in A.D. 44-5, i.e. ten to fifteen years after the date of this debate. Of course there may have been another rebel leader called Theudas in earlier days; Theudas is a common contraction for various names; and Acts only allows him 400 followers, which is less than 'the multitude' of the Theudas in Josephus. But the reference here looks like an anachronism of the author or of his source.

37. *After this man*. Judas' rebellion was in A.D. 6-8 (the census referred to is not that of Lk. 2¹), though Judas' fate is not stated in history except here. But it has been noted that in Josephus (*loc. cit.*) after the paragraph recording the rising of Theudas, the next paragraph records the subsequent crucifixion of the two sons of Judas, who is there specified as having led the former revolt in the time of Cyrenius. Hence it has been suggested that the passage here is due to a misreading of Josephus; this, if true, would make the date of this passage in Acts very late, as Josephus wrote his *Antiquities* about A.D. 93. But the suggestion is not inevitable; for (a) the order of events in Josephus is quite clear, and a more than passing degree of carelessness has to be postulated to account for the mistake in Acts, if it is due to a misreading of Josephus; (b) Acts shows entire independence of Josephus in reference to the death of Herod (Acts 12²¹). The explanation of the mistake in Acts (if the Theudas mentioned here is the one of A.D. 44) may be (1) that as Josephus certainly used written sources, his source here may have recorded the crucifixion of the sons of Judas after giving the story of Theudas' rebellion, and may then have added a brief reference to Judas' rebellion, (2) that the order of events was not very clearly marked in this source, and (3) that the writer of this passage in Acts owed his mistake to a misreading not of Josephus but of Josephus' source. This explanation may be owned to bear a flimsy appearance, and the passage here remains one of the most difficult to explain in Acts (cf. *Introd.* I (e), (f)). Of course, if the Theudas of Acts is another and much earlier leader, no chronological mistake has been

committed, but the collocation of Theudas and Judas, and the resemblance of this passage to that in Josephus, still raises the question, whether this is not a later interpolation, whether by the author himself or by a redactor.

42. *Jesus as the Christ*: that the Christ is Jesus. This was the special fact, and, at present, the only fundamental fact in which the Christians differed from the Jews. Both believed in the Messiah; but the Christians said that they knew the Messiah's name; it was Jesus, Who had come, had been crucified by the Jews, and vindicated by God, who in raising Him from the dead guaranteed His Messiahship.

ESSAY B. THE JEWISH MESSIANIC HOPE

So much of the early Christian preaching in Acts is couched in the language of Jewish Messianism that an excursus on the Jewish Messianic hope is needed to enable us to grasp its significance.

We begin with the *pre-exilic prophets*, especially Isaiah and Jeremiah. The outstanding passages are Isa. 7^{10f.}, 9^{1f.}, Jer. 23^{5f.}, 31^{31f.}, 33^{15f.}. Their times were times of national difficulty or disaster; and they stood forward to encourage or guide the nation in its national trouble, and to call it to religious reformation. They met the ill omens of the time by reiterating the belief that, because God had made a covenant with Israel, therefore He would not desert them. Better times would come, even if only to a faithful remnant of the people; in time the rule of God would be established, and this revived theocracy would mean the religious renovation of Israel, and, through Israel, of the nations as spiritual dependents of Mt. Zion. This coming time was often pictured as one of material prosperity, but the gist of the hope in the best prophecies was spiritual, and the method of expression was consciously figurative. Of course many of the people understood the idea still more crudely in a materialistic sense; but there were always some to whom it chiefly spoke of the prospect of real religious regeneration, and of a great outpouring of God's Spirit.

This restoration, so the prophets taught, would be inaugurated by a ruler of David's line; for God had made a covenant with David (Ps. 89, 132). In him the rule of God would be embodied. These prophets picture him as a purely human figure, whose reign would come about by purely natural processes. But in qualifying the work that he is to do, they are carried into flights of hyperbole, and ascribe to him such titles as 'Immanuel', i.e. 'With us God', 'Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace', 'the Lord our Righteousness'.

The *post-exilic prophets* continue this thought, though usually in weaker strains, but do not substantially add anything to it. But, in the exilic and post-exilic prophecies that were bound up with Isaiah's, and form the second half (caps. 40-66) of the roll of 'Isaiah', the picture of a Suffering Servant of God is drawn (Isa. 42¹¹, 49¹¹, 52¹³). The prophet may have meant by this picture a single individual, or an ideal personification of the redeemed nation; but his idea is clearly that the spiritual redemption of Israel is to be effected through the suffering of God's chosen Servant. But this conception never much affected the popular Messianic hope, though the Christians fastened on it as showing that the sufferings of Jesus were, according to the O. T., compatible with the Messianic position, which they claimed for Him.

After the return from Exile, no such regeneration took place; the times grew worse, the nation sank into impotence; and the result was that the teachers of Israel then began to foster the idea that the present world was given over to the Devil (who now begins to take a definite place in Jewish doctrine as the enemy of God), and that an entirely new order would be needed to effect the prophesied restoration. Prophecy changes into *apocalypse*. Instances of such apocalypse are found, within the O. T., in the books of Daniel, Joel, Zechariah, and (perhaps the earliest of all, though it is certainly of much later date than Isaiah) in Isa. 24-7. And other books, that never won an entrance into the O. T., were written in this spirit, such as the oldest sections of the Sibylline Oracles, the Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Jubilees, and (though some trace the influence of Christian interpolation in it) the oldest sections of the Book of Enoch. In these apocalypses, the hope, which the prophets had proclaimed in language which, however hyperbolic, was still contemplating a 'natural' event in history, becomes coloured with a supernaturalism, often prodigally sensuous. The Kingdom of God is to come as the result of a supernatural convulsion overturning all powers in heaven and earth, and transforming the world into a new earth after a celestial pattern; only so, 'at the end of the times', would God's purpose be realized. Preceding this final era, there would be the rule in Jerusalem of a Davidic King—the Anointed One—the Messiah (the names vary in the various books; 'Messiah' first occurs in Dan. 9²⁵; but the figure is in general the same, whatever the name). This King now appears as a more or less supernatural figure. Sometimes he is a descendant of David ('Son of David' is one of the titles under which he is presented); sometimes he is conceived

of as being kept by God in heaven, to be sent into the world when the time is ready. In the Book of Enoch, he is called 'the Son of Man' (a title perhaps derived from, or influenced by, Dan. 7¹³ where we have the figure of 'one like unto a son of man'), he is pre-existent in heaven, the companion of God and angels, the destined judge of all creation, the Anointed, Elect, and Righteous One, who is to receive universal homage.

Such an idea, of a supernatural deliverance, effected by a supernatural deliverer (whatever his title) was the mainspring of the later Jewish hope, and an article of faith with the people at large, and with the Pharisees, though there was no fixed and authoritative doctrine on the point. The Christians, especially after the Resurrection, transferred the whole conception to Jesus and combined its features into a picture under the name of 'the Christ' = the Anointed One. They explained His Crucifixion by reference to the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah. His Resurrection proved His Messianic position. His Messianic rule would begin soon; meanwhile a brief interval for the repentance of the Jews was allowed.

As time went on, and the event delayed, the Christian expectation became an idealism. This process can be traced to a certain extent in Paul's Epistles. The idea of Christ's return and rule became increasingly spiritualized, until it assumes the form, in which the fourth Gospel presents it, according to which the 'Return' is seen in the coming of the Holy Spirit, and the 'Rule' in the spiritual Kingdom of Christ in the lives of those that received Him and were given the right to become children of God. (Prologue to St. John's Gospel.)

It has been questioned¹ whether Jesus ever represented Himself as the Messiah or commissioned His disciples to preach Him as such. However that may be (the discussion does not rise out of Acts but out of the study of the Gospels), there is little question that the early Christians, under their belief in His Resurrection, did so think of Him and preach Him. What else could they have done, to mark their feeling of the special significance of His life? (Cf. Riehm., *Messianic Prophecy*; Charles, *Between the Old and New Testaments*.)

VI¹-VIII³. EMERGENCE OF A DISTINCTIVE CHRISTIANITY

VI. 1. *in these days*. No specific time is stated; but we can with difficulty suppose the interval to have been less than one or two

¹ e. g. in Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *op. cit.*

years, in view of the obvious development that has taken place. Thus (1) the system of community of goods has given way to a regularly organized relief-fund, with a daily distribution. The work has become too much for the Twelve, and they may already have experimented in delegating part of it to others. (Thus a Bezan text for this verse has 'because the widows of the Hellenists were neglected by the deacons of the Hebrews', which would imply that some relief-officers of the Hebrew section had already been appointed); (2) there is apparently a regular order or rota of needy widows; (3) there has arisen a classification of the Christians into Hebrews (i.e. of Palestinian Jewish origin) and Hellenists (i.e. of Jewish origin but from families settled abroad; these would be people that were living in Jerusalem for purposes of business, or had returned to the home-land, and brought their preference for Greek speech and an accompanying tincture of Greek ideas with them). And, as amongst the Jews, so amongst these Jewish Christians, the relation of these two classes is not always free from antagonism or at least divergence of interest. The materials of the history now become more detailed. We pass from isolated glimpses of Church life to a more consecutive story.

disciples. First occurrence of this term in Acts. A primitive touch, as it soon ceased to be the regular term for the Christians, and was supplanted by 'brethren' or 'saints'.

4. *in prayer.* *Lit.* 'in the prayer'. Can it mean 'in the prayer-place', i.e. the Church? Cf. 1¹⁴ note.

5. *multitude.* Not the whole number, which by now was large, but a reference to the body in general is meant.

The qualifications are spiritual. The 'serving of tables' would practically mean the organization of charitable relief, either in goods or in money, and this would require personal gifts, as well as business capacity and a good reputation. As Chrysostom says,¹ 'It needed great philosophy to bear the complaints of the widows.' Besides (and this is a fact of remarkable interest), the early Christian view was that all Christian ministry, whether lowly or important, whether 'religious' or 'secular' (to use the bad modern division), needed the gift of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit manifested Himself not only in signs and wonders, but also in personal qualities and capacities. And these Seven apparently were expected not merely to serve tables, but also, by virtue of their importance, to preach and teach. They seem to act in no subordination to the Twelve, and this may mark the beginning of a real division of opinion and interest in the Church between the Hebrew and the Hellenist sections.

¹ Quoted by Rackham, *ad loc.*

The number Seven was the Jewish sacred number of completeness ; but it may here indicate the number of Christian household congregations in Jerusalem.

All the Seven have Greek names, though that need not mean that all were of Hellenist extraction ; but they are plainly chosen in the Hellenist interest, and may have represented a more liberal opinion than the Twelve.

6. The system is one of popular election, on which follows the regular ceremony of blessing, which regularizes their office (cf. Deut. 34⁹). The principle of delegation of office is thus recognized. But though these Seven have often been called ' Deacons ', the title is not here used. Their office in itself was unique. And they were soon scattered by the persecution which arose on Stephen's death. The deacons of the later Gentile churches performed similar functions of relief, when similar conditions arose. This is therefore not the institution of a regular diaconate, but it is the starting-point for the division of functions in the Church, which later became stereotyped in a regular system of Ministry.

7. *the priests* were probably those of humbler grade, as distinguished from the Sadducean high-priestly families.

8. *Stephen*. The importance attributed to Stephen's place in the history is just. For (1) his teaching led directly to the driving of a deep cleft between Judaism and Christianity, which till then had seemed capable of living together, and so to the emergence of a distinctive Christian Church and the dawn of Gentile Christianity. Acts 1-5 shows that large numbers of Jews accepted Christianity at first, until Stephen and his party brought out the fact that it was something different from a new Jewish sect. Stephen seems to have brought over with him into Christianity ideas and a point of view which he may have learnt from the more liberal Judaism of the Dispersion. In the Dispersion, although Jewish Nationalist feeling was generally strong, and the conservative strain was not absent, yet on the whole there was a very marked tendency (which found its most philosophic expression at Alexandria) to a liberalism which tended to subordinate the ceremonial to the moral law of the O. T., and to allow various degrees of latitude in observance to Gentile proselytes and adherents of the synagogue.¹ Thus Philo (the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria) speaks of Jews who regard the law as merely symbolical, even for themselves, and still more for proselytes. And there seem to have been many Gentile adherents of Judaism, who were not compelled to be circumcised,

¹ Cf. Kirsopp Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, c. ii.

but were accepted as adherents if they obeyed the ethical code of the O. T., and sometimes too the Jewish rules as to the Sabbath, the Feasts and Fasts, and Clean and Unclean Meats. Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv⁹⁶⁻¹⁰⁶ (2) Stephen is in a real sense the religious precursor of Paul. He spiritualized the whole conception of the Law, the Temple, and the Covenant, and loosened the current idea of their indispensability. He was thus able to sublimate Judaism into Christianity. His method involved the passing of Judaism, and thus the charge against him was perfectly fair, from the orthodox Jewish standpoint. It is true that he emphasizes the spirit of the Law as distinct from its letter, while Paul tends rather to recoil altogether from the Law, as from something which by the rigidity of its letter sterilizes any spirit that was in it. And so Stephen's teaching is more akin to that of the Epistle to the Hebrews than to Paul's own letters. But Stephen's ideas are such as reappear in Paul, with the difference due to the intensity of Paul's personal experience of the bondage of the Law; and by his teaching Stephen broke the ground for Paul's universalism.

9. Stephen's work was that of argument in the synagogues, as was Paul's later. It is doubtful whether we are to think here of one, two, three, or five synagogues. It is a plausible theory that there are three, viz. (1) freedmen (*Libertini*) from Rome, especially from among the Jews whom Pompey had taken captive to Rome, (2) Africans, (3) Asiatics. An old emendation suggests *Λιβυστινῶν* ('Libyans') for *Λιβερτινῶν* ('Libertines'), and the Arm. version has *Libyorum*; this would give two synagogues instead of three. Probably Paul was, as a Cilician from Tarsus, an attendant at the synagogue of Cilicia, and a witness of the 'grace and power' in Stephen's work.

10. We note that the eloquence of Stephen is treated as an irresistible manifestation of 'spirit'.

12. The accusation of disrespect to Moses is enough to excite the 'people', who till now had been favourable to the Christians, and the Pharisees (the 'elders and scribes') are driven to abandon their temporizing policy for one of open hostility. The inquiry is held by the Sanhedrin, but it may have been held in a temple-court, and it ends in a riot. The Roman power was either surprised or temporarily too weak to interfere. Pilate was deposed in A.D. 36, and during the last two or three years of his governorship he felt himself in too insecure a position to discipline the Jews too strictly in matters such as this, where their feelings were violently aroused.

VII. 2. Stephen's speech is extraordinarily skilful. In appearance it is only a historical sketch, based entirely on the Old Testament and popular Jewish tradition ; that was the only way by which he could have obtained a hearing at all ; and the speech is of so very individual a tone and treatment that it cannot be a free composition of the author's or of his source, but must be a genuine reproduction of the main gist of Stephen's defence. It may well have become for the early Christians a standard statement of the Christian case. By accumulated instances he brings out his main points without compromise ; (1) God had dealt with the patriarchs in foreign countries, and not only on the ' holy ' soil of Palestine, e.g. in Mesopotamia, Haran, Egypt, Sinai, Midian ; the ' Promise ' was before the Covenant of Circumcision ; the Tabernacle was before the Temple, and, whereas the Tabernacle was made under direct divine instruction, the Old Testament itself bore witness that the Temple was unnecessary. The inference was that neither Holy Land, nor Temple, was indispensable for God's relation to man ; revelation was progressive and could use varying media. (2) The Jews had at all times rejected their appointed saviours, Joseph, Moses, the prophets ; and so it was but in keeping with this, that Jesus, the ' greater prophet ' foretold by Moses, had been rejected too. (3) The Law was holy, but the Jews had not kept it, and had murdered ' the Righteous One ', Who had kept it. Such a speech, ending with an assertion of the divine status of Jesus, was calculated to anger his audience. The more acute of them would see the offence involved in the treatment of Jewish observances as temporary and incidental ; it assaulted the deepest ideas of orthodoxy, according to which the Law was of divine origin before the Creation, and the whole world rested on it. The more obtuse would be incensed at the accusation of obstinacy and disobedience to the Law.

The God of glory, i.e. who reveals Himself in the glory (Shechinah) between the cherubim, on the mercy-seat.

Gen. 11²⁷-12⁵ says this happened in Haran, and that Terah led the move to Haran. Philo and Josephus agree with Stephen, and Josh. 24²⁻³ seems to imply that Abraham moved from beyond the river under divine guidance. There are other points in which Stephen's narrative varies from the Old Testament story. Some are due to the LXX, some to a different tradition still current among the Jews. We must remember that no final text of the Pentateuch was yet settled, and that the history was still subject to traditional variation. This knowledge of varying forms of Jewish tradition indicates that the speech comes from Stephen himself.

4. According to the respective ages of Terah and Abraham in Gen. 11^{26, 32}, 12⁴ this must have happened before Terah's death.

5. Deut. 2⁵, but there referring to Mt. Seir.

7. Exod. 3¹², though 'this place' there is Sinai, not Palestine.

14. Gen. 46²⁷ says 70. But the LXX on Exod. 1⁵ has 75, and some MSS. of Deut. 10²².

16. Either there is some confusion in the source, or Jewish tradition varied. For Josh. 24³² says Joseph alone was buried in the tomb at Shechem, which Jacob had bought; and Gen. 50¹³ says Jacob was buried in Hebron, in the tomb which Abraham (Gen. 23) had bought from Ephron the Hittite. The mention of Shechem is probably due to the fact that it now belonged to the schismatic Samaritans.

22. Not in Exodus but in Philo.

25. Not in Exodus but in Philo. And Exodus makes Moses' flight due to fear of Pharaoh, and not to his rejection by the Jews.

30. Exod. 3¹, where it is Horeb. The relation of Sinai to Horeb is in general obscure.

37. Cf. Acts 3²².

38. *church*; better 'assembly' Deut. 18¹⁶. In the O. T. narrative Jehovah Himself speaks; later feeling refined on the primitive simplicity of this idea, and ascribed the utterance, as here, to an 'angel', thus removing, out of reverence, Jehovah from such direct intercourse with man. This doctrine of angels is akin to Alexandrian ideas. Cf. 12¹⁵ note.

42. Amos 5²⁵⁻²⁷, though Amos has Chiun for Rephan,¹ and Damascus for Babylon.² And his meaning is different; he is speaking of later developments of Jewish idolatry, not of any idolatry that took place in the wilderness, and his meaning is that God required no sacrifice in the wilderness, but Israel has later turned to idolatrous sacrifices. Stephen uses the passage to convey that Israel in the wilderness rejected God and sacrificed to idols.

51. *resist the Holy Ghost*. Probably a reminiscence of Isa. 63¹⁰.

52. *the Righteous One*. Cf. on 3¹². Few martyrdoms of prophets are recorded in the Old Testament, but it was recognized as a feature of Jewish history. Cf. Matt. 23^{31, 37}.

53. *Gr.* 'unto ordinances of angels'. Probably translating an

¹ A reference to the star-worship adopted in Israel. Chiun or Kaiwan is the Assyrian name for Saturn, Rephan is a corruption of Chiun. Stephen is quoting from the LXX, which has 'Ye shall take up Sakkuth your king' (the Assyrian god of war) 'and Kaiwan your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves'.

² Babylon and not Syria had now become the typical oppressor.

Aramaic preposition, meaning 'according to' or 'by'. 'Angels', again, instead of Jehovah, as in v. 38.

56. *Son of man*. Elsewhere only in the Gospels; Cf. Lk. 22⁶⁹, but here He is 'standing', which shows that the phrase here is not a literary reminiscence, but an authentic utterance. Stephen sees Jesus standing to welcome him—a very vivid touch. Usually we read of Jesus as 'seated' at God's right hand.

58. *the witnesses*, who, according to Deut. 17⁷, had to throw the first stones.

VIII. 1. *consenting*, or 'sympathizing'. Saul was probably not a member of the Sanhedrin; but he himself witnesses later that he was a leader of the riot. He was probably now about 30 years old or more.

2. The resulting persecution obviously fell on the Hellenist section. The Apostles, who would seem more orthodox in the eyes of the Jews, and may have been not entirely in sympathy with Stephen's teaching, remained at Jerusalem. But the persecution caused the Church to become a distinctive body, instead of a Jewish sect, as it might hitherto have been regarded; and it soon acquires (though at Antioch, rather than Jerusalem) the uncompromising name of 'Christians', instead of 'Nazoraean'.

devout men. Perhaps of the Jews; there would be some who were outraged at the event. The Christians can hardly have ventured to bury and mourn publicly for Stephen.

3. Paul says he put some to death. Possibly there were some such cases, but as a rule proceedings must have stopped short of this, which would have been a continuance of illegality.

VIII⁴-XII²⁵. EXPANSION OF THE CHURCH

VIII. 4. Acts is intended to tell the story: (1) how Christianity moved from Jerusalem to Rome; (2) how the Church, from being a sect of Judaism, became universal in its scope; (3) of Paul's work as a proper development of the tendencies that were already in the Church. In respect to each of these lines of purpose, this section gives a great forward stride. It tells of the Church's extension outside Jerusalem—to the coast cities, Damascus, Galilee, Samaria, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Antioch; the extension to south and east, which probably also took place, is not mentioned, because the writer's eye is on the line that leads Rome-wards. We also hear of the admission into the Church of others besides Jews—the semi-Jewish Samaritans, the Ethiopian eunuch, Cornelius, and 'the Greeks' at Antioch; 11¹⁸ gives the general

inference from this process ; the way is paved for a definite mission to Gentiles. Thirdly, we read of Paul's conversion and early work, of the precedent established by Peter, in the baptism of Cornelius, for the principle of Paul's later ministry to the Gentiles, of the loyal help sent from Antioch to Jerusalem and the implied harmony between the Jewish and the Gentile centres of Christianity, of the alliance between Paul and Barnabas who was representing the church at Jerusalem ; and the departure of Peter from the scene leaves the stage open for a new principal figure.

5. The Samaritans were men of mixed origin who claimed to be genuine Jews, to the unconcealed contempt of the Jews proper. They accepted only the Pentateuch, and had a worship like that of Jerusalem ; and John 4²⁵ shows that Messianic ideas were current among them also. The sect was found chiefly in Shechem (by now called Neapolis) and the country districts. The capital of Samaria was Sebasté, but it was never a seat of the Samaritan religion, but a heathen city, inhabited by men of mixed nationality and religion. The story here seems to refer entirely to the conversion of Samaritans, so ' the city of Samaria ' can hardly mean Sebasté, though we cannot tell what else it could mean. Perhaps the article (τήν) should be omitted, and the phrase be read as ' a city of Samaria '.

Philip appears in this chapter as a wandering evangelist and wonder-worker, not unlike the earlier Old Testament prophets, such as Elijah. His career gives a meteoric impression, and he seems to work independently ; but the church at Jerusalem asserts a supervising authority over his converts.

proclaimed the Christ, ' heralded ' the Messiah (whom the Samaritans were expecting), that he has come, and ' the Kingdom of God ' (the Messianic Kingdom) is at hand. (v. 12 gives the first appearance of this phrase since Acts 1³.)

9. This is the first of many encounters with sorcery related in Acts. The number of such incidents may show the author's interest in such phenomena ; it certainly attests their prevalence in those times. The whole East was full of such men, some of them genuine and sincere and learned, most of them charlatans, who by various methods laid claim to magical power or knowledge, and found in the excited religious expectations of the people a ready and profitable market.

10. *that power of God which is called Great*. A doubtful phrase. Why the superfluous ' which is called ' ? It may be the misunderstanding of an Aramaic phrase that really meant ' this is the power

of the God who is called Great'. We know that *Méyas* ('Great') was a title in Jewish use for the God of the Jews. This would therefore mark out the God, of whom Simon professed to be a sort of emanation. Very probably Simon had made himself out to be very much like the expected Messiah, or even greater.

13. Simon's baptism seems due mainly to amazement at a greater magician than himself.

14. This story draws a new and striking distinction between baptism and the gift of the Holy Ghost. Apparently they had been baptized, but the regular sign of the Spirit, the speaking with tongues, had not followed.

The laying-on of hands after baptism soon became the regular custom (cf. Heb. 6²; the only other instance in Acts is in 19⁶; but sub-apostolic Church writings show that it was an established usage in the earliest sub-apostolic age); but in these early times it cannot have been universal. Still, the practice that some chief authority of the Church should recognize and bless new converts may have, when possible, been usual, long before any doctrine of the gift of the Spirit in Confirmation had been arrived at.

It is hard to avoid reading doctrinal implications in the story here; but to do so may be to read too much back into it from the more developed Church ideas of a later time. The incident in itself is quite natural. Philip's work was the first case of public Christian evangelism outside the immediate purview of the Twelve. The Samaritans would seem to the Christians of Jerusalem very unlikely objects for the gift of the Holy Ghost. So Peter and John are sent to inspect the new development, as Barnabas was later sent to Antioch under analogous circumstances (11²²). The absence of the usual sign of the Spirit suggested to them the necessity of further prayer, with the laying-on of hands as a confirmatory sealing; and the result justified them, for the gift of the Spirit found open expression (cf. v. 18, Simon 'saw'). The supposition that the story is an invention to exalt the Twelve at the expense of Philip is wholly gratuitous.

The incident shows that, even so early as this, the Church was not disposed to an indiscriminate acceptance of new members, and desired to exercise some discipline over its missionaries. It also gives us some light on the position of the Twelve. They appear as, in a sense, autocrats; at this time their voice would be regarded as final. But they were not permitted to behave quite irresponsibly. So long as they acted agreeably to the Jewish feelings which marked most of the church at Jerusalem, they were allowed a pre-eminence which almost amounted to a benevolent oligarchy. Their right to hold very strict inquiry

before suffering the Church to be opened to Samaritans would be conceded, and even insisted on, by the brethren at Jerusalem. But, as soon as Peter seems to be becoming more liberal than the Jewish Christians can readily tolerate, they challenge his action, and he seems to admit their right to do so (cap. 11). Their jurisdiction therefore was in some degree that of a representative Executive, but an Executive that held a peculiarly strong moral authority, based no doubt on their selection by Christ.

17. *they received*: 'they began to receive' (imperfect tense).

18. *through the laying-on of hands*: the visible condition to Simon's eye.

22. *if perhaps*: the doubt is of Simon's penitence.

23. *thou art in* (Gr. 'unto'). The marginal rendering is better, 'thou wilt become gall' (or 'a gall-root') 'of bitterness and a bond of iniquity'. The phrases come from Deut. 29¹⁸, Isa. 58⁶.

24. The Bezan text adds 'and he ceased not weeping greatly', but Simon's words scarcely imply penitence, but rather fear of dire results from the curse of the great wonder-workers. The story here ends abruptly, but Simon plays a very large part in early Christian legend, as the alleged opponent of Peter; and he was reputed the founder of Gnostic heresy.

25. Philip has vanished from the story; we do not know if he had stayed on after Peter and John's arrival, or if he returned with them to Jerusalem. He reappears in v. 26; we are not told where he was then, but he was obviously not at Jerusalem, for he is told to go to the Jerusalem-Gaza road.

26. This incident leads to nothing beyond itself, and can only have been derived from Philip's own information. It is narrated because it records the admission of one who (1) was not a Jew, though he obviously was affiliated to Judaism, (2) as a eunuch was specially excluded by the law from the assembly of the Lord (Deut. 23¹).

an angel of the Lord. But it is the Spirit which prompts Philip in v. 29, and catches him away in v. 39. The conception of the Spirit was still not rigidly settled, and spiritual monitions could be ascribed either to the Spirit or to an Angel, without any sense of inadequate specification.

the same is desert. This reads like an editorial addition. It may refer to the road, but it is hard to believe that any road from Jerusalem to Gaza would be capable of being called 'deserted' (ἐρημος). Most probably the note refers to Gaza itself. Old Gaza lay two miles from the sea, on the main trunk road to Egypt, but had been destroyed in 96 B.C., and was still in ruins. A new Gaza on the

coast had been built under the Romans. The old Gaza had probably already begun to revive; its soil was fertile, it had fifteen wells, it lay on the main road; and on such a coast the land trade was always likely to be more important than the sea trade. But the nickname 'Deserted' might stick to it, the new Gaza being called 'maritime'.¹

toward the south. Not 'at noon', which would be a very unfavourable time.

27. Ethiopia was a name covering the vast tracts south of Egypt, in which were several kingdoms. According to Pliny, the kingdom of Meroe was at present under a queen with the dynastic name of Candace.

32. The version is that of the LXX. The Christians had already begun to use Isaiah 53 as a Messianic prophecy. Cf. Essay at end of cap. 5.

36. Some ancient authorities insert at the end of this verse 'And Philip said, If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God'. The reading was known to Irenaeus and Cyprian, but the balance of MS. authority is against it. It was probably inserted in the second century, and gives a form of simple baptismal confession used at that time. Cf. 2³⁸ note.

39. No descent of the Holy Spirit is recorded, unless we accept the Bezan text 'the Holy Spirit fell on the eunuch, but the angel of the Lord caught away Philip'; and certainly the phrase 'the Spirit of the Lord' is unique in Acts.

40. Philip disappears, and apparently preached in Ashdod (Azotus) and the other coast-cities as far as Caesarea, where he is found in Acts 21⁸. Among the cities which he would probably visit would be Lydda and Joppa, and Peter's circular tour referred to in 9³² may have been to inspect the results of his work, as had been done at Samaria.

IX. 1. The narrative recurs to 8³, and relates the conversion of the man, who is to be the chief figure of the later history; it is the preliminary to a further extension of the Church.

Saul was a native of Tarsus, a great city, a centre of the lumber-trade, and the seat of one of the leading universities of the world. He had probably been well educated and knew Greek well; like all Jewish boys, he had learnt a trade, the local Cilician trade of tent-weaving. He was a Roman citizen by birth; and, therefore, as Tarsus did not possess the Roman *civitas*, his father must have been a freedman, or must have received the gift as

¹ Cf. Adam Smith, *Hist. Geography of the Holy Land*, c. ix.

a favour from, or for service to, some Roman notable. Thus the family belonged to the ranks of the provincial aristocracy, and held a position of distinction and of at least moderate wealth, and probably, like other such families, entertained friendly feelings to the Roman Empire. Saul's Greek name was apparently *Paulus*, which suggests a connexion of gratitude with some member of the Aemilian house (of which Paulus was a *cognomen*). He was a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, and 'a Pharisee of the Pharisees', and had come to Jerusalem to be educated in the Law and Tradition by Gamaliel, and had become 'more exceedingly zealous for the Law', i.e. he was one of the rising young men of Pharisaic Judaism. He had a sister at Jerusalem married in high-priestly circles (Acts 23¹⁶ note), which indicates that the family was of good standing among the Jews as well as in the Greek society of Tarsus.

the Lord (κύριος). Not before in Acts for Jesus except in 2³⁶ and (perhaps) 2⁴⁷. The Aramaic is *Maran*, a title of special deference, applied to men, and also to heathen gods. In the Gospels the disciples regularly call Jesus *Rabbi* = teacher. The application of *Maran* to Him (1 Cor. 16²² *Maran-atha* proves that it was so applied) may have arisen outside Jerusalem, in the early days of the Church, in some Aramaic-speaking circles.¹ In Pauline churches, and Gentile Christianity generally, it was translated by κύριος, a word in common usage as a title of respect for men (cf. Acts 16³⁰), but specially used in the heathen religions for the 'divine lord' of a circle of worshippers or initiates. The author of Acts probably read the term back into the language of primitive Christianity at Jerusalem.

2. Saul was accompanied by some of the Temple guard on his journey. The High Priest had no authority over foreign synagogues, but Saul could instigate the local synagogues to exercise a discipline, which the Romans would allow so long as it did not assume the power of inflicting death (thus Paul himself was scourged in the synagogues later); though Rome would be ready to hear an appeal, if such was made. Obviously the disciples at Damascus (we are not told how there came to be any there, but probably it was through the unofficial preaching of converts from Jerusalem) still attended the synagogues there. The name here given to the Christians, 'the Way', is found only in Acts. It has a primitive ring, and reflects the idea in such phrases as 'the way of salvation', 'I am the Way'. It may have been the Christians' own term for describing their fellowship.

3. The whole story moves in the region of the spiritual. But

¹ Cf. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *op. cit.*

there is nothing unnatural in the event or its effects, if we are prepared to allow for the possibility of divine action in human affairs. No doubt the psychological preparation of Saul had already begun ; the preaching and death of Stephen must have both impressed him and raised questions in his conscience ; and the spiritual experience which befell him on the road was thus not entirely unprepared for. His furious purpose of persecution would not be psychologically incompatible with the disquietude of conscience, which a sincere and eager man may feel only the more strongly because he tries to silence it by zealous energy of action. One thing is certain, that he never afterwards doubted either the reality or the meaning of his experience, and that his life accredits his belief.

The question has been raised,¹ whether Saul must not have seen Jesus before His Crucifixion, in order to be able to recognize Him in the vision. But the story carefully abstains from saying that he saw any form ; he only saw a light and heard a sound, which spoke to his inner consciousness as a distinct commission from Jesus.

The story is told three times in Acts, here, and in chapters 22 and 26. The three stories vary in certain details, which will be noticed as they occur, but the main outline is the same, and the variations are easily understood, if we remember that Acts 22 is an impromptu speech to an infuriated mob to explain the cause of his mission to the Gentiles, whilst Acts 26 is a carefully-prepared speech at a semi-official reception to expound the consistency between the Jewish and the Christian stages in his life. But the account in chapter 9 may be a later version than that in chapter 22, and shows signs of amplification in tradition. On the other hand, Paul's account in Galatians 1 differs in some particulars from the stories in Acts, and this difference raises questions which will be considered as the points arise. Broadly, however, we may notice that Paul in Galatians is giving his inner history at the time, to justify his claim to independence of ' man ', whilst the stories in Acts deal only with the external history of the conversion as an event bearing on the advance of the Church, and paving the way for the Gentile mission. Further we may recollect that the author of Acts (or his source) may have had his own view of the relative importance of certain details in the list of events, and that this view may have differed from Paul's in some respects, and still more from Paul's when he had a controversial purpose in view.

5. The Bezan text adds here ' it is hard for thee to kick against

¹ Cf. Weiss, *Paul and Jesus*.

the pricks' (cf. 26¹⁴). 'And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what dost thou will me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Rise. . . .'

Jesus. So in 26¹⁵. In 22⁸ 'Jesus the Nazoraean'.

7. Here Saul's companions hear the voice (*φωνῆς* genitive) but see no man. In 22⁹ they see the light but do not hear the voice (*φωνήν* accusative, as of Saul's hearing in 9⁴, 26¹⁴). A merely apparent inconsistency. They heard the sound and saw the light, but understood neither. The sound and light were objective, but the subjective interpretation was Paul's alone.

In 26¹⁶ a summary of Saul's future work is added to the command to rise up. In 9 and 22 this is distributed between Ananias' vision and Ananias' address to Saul. But the speech in 26, in view of its purpose, simply summarizes the whole sequel of the vision, and makes no mention of Ananias, but goes straight from the conversion to the preaching at Damascus and elsewhere.

The Bezan text here reads 'no man with whom he was talking. But he said to them, Raise me from the earth; and when they had raised him, and his eyes. . . .'

10. In 22¹² Ananias is called 'a devout man according to the law, well reported of by all the Jews'; the purpose of this, in a speech to Jews, is obvious. Ananias could be a Christian disciple, and yet also a pious conforming Jew. James, the Lord's brother, was head of the church at Jerusalem later, and yet was admired by all the Jews for his piety and regular devotions in the Temple.

The incident of Ananias' vision is omitted in 22, which is strange (cf. 22¹² note). The story here reads as if it was the product of frequent repetition, which had tended to give some details a more definite outline than they originally possessed.

12. This verse is omitted in a Latin MS., and the narrative reads better without it.

13. *saints*. First occurrence in Acts as applied to the Christian disciples. It was a common title for Israel as the 'holy nation'.

Rumour flies quickly in the East, and knowledge of Saul's intentions should precede his arrival. It is therefore not strange that Ananias should be so well informed.

15. *chosen vessel*. Gr. 'vessel of election'. The idea, that God had chosen him, constantly recurs in Paul's Epistles.

The forecast of the Gentile mission and the sufferings which it would entail is probably a reading-back of later history into the narrative. In 22^{14, 15} a similar but simpler pronouncement is attributed to Ananias, in his address to Saul. Obviously the tale

had been often told, and had been enlarged by a knowledge of later events. This also explains the divergences of language between 9¹⁷ and 22¹⁴⁻¹⁶.

18. *as it were scales*. Not physical scales, but a mere figure for the sense of returning sight. There is nothing necessarily supernatural in the temporary blindness or the recovery; no doubt there is also some suggestion here of the idea that Saul's spiritual blindness was now being enlightened.

19. In Galatians 1¹⁷ a visit to Arabia at this point is mentioned. The author of Acts (or his source) was plainly unacquainted with Galatians. But, even if he had known of the visit, he might have omitted it as incidental and of merely private interest. The reason for that visit is unknown; it may have been for reasons of business, or to obtain quiet for meditation.

20. *the Son of God*. A regular Pauline title though this is the only occasion on which Acts puts it in his mouth. Did Paul use it so soon? Gal. 1¹⁶ suggests the possibility that Paul's conception of Jesus took this form even so early as this. In itself the title need not convey the full idea of Christ's Divinity as in, e.g., the Nicene Creed. Paul preached Jesus as Messiah (v. 22), and 'Son of God' was one of the Jewish titles for the Messiah (Ps. 2⁷, 89²⁶, Matt. 26⁶³, Mk. 14⁶¹). It is also applied in the Old Testament to angels Gen. 6², to human rulers Ps. 82⁶, to Israel Exod. 4²²). Peter in Matt. 16¹⁶ confesses Jesus to be 'the Christ, the Son of the living God', and this (which may be due to a good authority, though Mark has only 'the Christ', and Luke 'the Christ of God') connects the two terms, though Peter, by his addition of the epithet 'living', seems to give peculiar solemnity to the phrase. The titles in Jn. 20²⁸ may be an expression of the writer's belief at a later time, and not an authentic saying of Thomas' at the moment. The Synoptic Gospels do not represent Jesus as calling Himself 'Son of God', and such a use in Jn. (5²⁵, 9³⁵, 10³⁶, 11⁴), as well as the cases where the evangelists, or Jesus' own followers, use it of Him (Mk. 1¹, Matt. 14³³, Jn. 1³⁴, 49, 3¹⁸, 20³¹), may be due to later Church phraseology. The use of it by the demoniacs (Mk. 3¹¹, 5⁷) and the centurion (Mk. 15³⁹) probably conveys nothing more than peculiar awe and honour. On the other hand, it is clear that Jesus claimed a unique relation to God; but His actual language, on the face of it, did not necessarily imply more than the Jews attributed to their expected Messiah, though no doubt Jesus meant more by it, as He meant more than the common understanding in many other phrases that He used, e.g. 'the Kingdom of God'.

We may reasonably conclude that the early Church had not yet faced the question whether Jesus was God or man. At present (cf. 2¹⁴ note) they were content to call Him Messiah ; and the spiritual experience which became theirs as His disciples prompted ascriptions of praise rather than doctrinal theories. It was not till later that they began to speculate as to the implications of their religious experiences, to systematize their thought, and to ask definitely how this experience could be possible, if Jesus was not God. We see this process of theological reflection at work in Paul's Epistles (cf. Gal. 2²⁰, Rom. 1¹⁻⁴, leading on to Eph. 4¹³, Phil. 2⁶, Col. 1¹⁵⁻¹⁷) ; in the fourth Gospel Jesus Christ is the Only-begotten of the Father, and is fully identified with the *Logos* of God. But, at the present point in Christian history, ' Son of God ' does not convey the same as ' God the Son ' of the later formulated Creed of the Church. It conveys little more than the Jewish term ' Messiah '. And it was the continuous Christian experience which led developing Christian theology to find no form of thought adequate to explain that experience, save one which fully made Jesus Christ equal with God, ' as touching His Godhead '. Ultimately the Church believes Jesus to be ' God the Son ', not because the first Christians so thought of Him (for the phrase was not yet in use), but because no other expression seems adequate to the impression made by His Personality and to His Power in human history.

22. The Damascus preaching is passed over in Acts 22, where mention of it would have been irrelevant ; in 26²⁰ it is mentioned.

The visit to Arabia may have taken place before any preaching ; or it may have been an interval between two spells of preaching work. In Gal. 1¹⁷ exactness as to the time of it is not in point ; the only matter emphasized is that he did not go to Jerusalem nor learn his gospel from flesh and blood ; for the same reason, though he mentions his return to Damascus, he makes no allusion to any preaching.

25. *his disciples*. A startling phrase, coming here ; no formation of a body of disciples of Saul has been recorded. The reading ' the disciples ' has some MS. support, and may be right.

In 2 Cor. 11³² this method of escape is said to have been due to the need of evading the watchfulness of ' the governor under Aretas the king '. Probably the Jews had enlisted his help ; Damascus wavered between the jurisdiction of the Arab kings of Petra (in semi-dependence on Rome) and the Roman provincial governors, and may at present have been under Aretas ; or Aretas' officer may have been watching the district outside the city.

26. The doubt at Jerusalem is not surprising, even if the interval since Saul's conversion was three years (as he himself says in Gal. 1¹⁸; 'after three years' would mean 'in the third year', and Acts 9²³ calls the time 'many days'). Of that period, some, perhaps much, had been spent in Arabia; and the whole circumstances would sound rather mysterious to the Christians at Jerusalem, who had only known Saul as the persecuting Pharisee.

The visit to Jerusalem is presented as a public one, in which important preaching took place; in Galatians Paul speaks of it as a more or less private visit, for the purpose of seeing Peter, and says that it only lasted fifteen days, during which the only other person of importance whom he saw was James the Lord's brother, and that on leaving Jerusalem he was unknown by face, though not by reputation, to the Christian 'churches of Judaea'. Plainly this account in Acts is independent of that in Galatians. But the account in Acts 22 hints that the preaching did not amount to much, that it was not successful, and that Paul was warned in a vision (not mentioned here) to give it up. In conjecturing the facts at the basis of these three stories, we may remember that (1) Paul's purpose in Galatians is to show that his preaching is not indebted to any man. The purpose of Acts is to show that he was accepted as a Christian preacher. He may have seen, among the leading men, only Peter and James (perhaps most of the Twelve had already gone away), but that these recognized him would be sufficient justification for the phrase in v. 28 here. (2) He might be known in Jerusalem, and yet unknown in Judaea. (3) There was probably a real division between the Hebrew and the Hellenist Christians. If Saul tried to reach the Grecian Jews, the Hebrew Christians might think that Stephen's fate had shown such an attempt to be misjudged, and Saul's work may have been more or less unauthorized by the general body of Jewish Christians, whilst the Hellenist section had been scattered by the persecution. The Grecian Jews, of course, would be doubly antagonistic to a renegade from their own circle, and so the preaching might well be short, and a failure. The accounts, therefore, though independent, show no radical inconsistency with one another.

27. This may be an indication of Barnabas' character, or that he had either a previous acquaintance with Saul or fuller information about him.

30. *to Tarsus*. Apparently by sea. In Gal. 1²¹ Paul only says that he came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia (which formed a single Roman administrative province). But Paul

there is only summarizing the period between his visits to Jerusalem. He may have preached in Tarsus, but we know nothing definite of his life now until he reappears a few years later (cf. Gal. 2¹) in Acts 11²⁵. But every indication points to the fact that he did work in Syria and Cilicia during this period.

31. Another short summary of both growth and establishment. This is the only place in Acts in which we read of Christians in Galilee. The extension there marked no special point in the general progress. The Jews at this time were having trouble with regard to Caligula's wish to erect his own statue in the Holy of Holies, and so the Church was undisturbed.

32. A sort of circular tour by Peter is here indicated. Cf. 8⁴⁰ note. *saints*. Cf. 9¹³.

33. *Lydda*, between Jerusalem and Joppa, which was the port of Jerusalem. Both were predominantly Jewish places.

Aeneas, a Greek name. We are not told if he was a Christian or not.

36. *Tabitha* (Aram. 'gazelle', the meaning also of the Gr. *Dorcas*). These two stories are told with great realism and appropriate vividness. The recovery of Aeneas is simple. The resuscitation of Tabitha is clearly based on a local tradition of the wonderful recovery of some leading member of the Church in connexion with Peter's visit.

39. *the widows*. Perhaps the later Church order of widows is here seen in its earliest stage.

43. Strict Jewish opinion regarded tanning as an unclean occupation. But probably Galileans like Peter were less scrupulous. We are given no hint of any idea that Peter was beginning to show greater liberality by visiting a tanner.

X. 1. The story of caps. 10 and 11, which shows many traces that it is based on good information, is clearly regarded by the author as a crucial point in his narrative of the expansion of the Church. We can see the reason. Philip had baptized Samaritans, and an Ethiopian eunuch; but, though his action in the former case had been subsequently confirmed by Peter and John (the second case may still have been unknown to the Church at large), it had not been an act of deliberate Church policy. (The same can be said of the later incident recorded in 11²⁰, though there too the act of the unnamed Hellenist preachers is confirmed by the church of Jerusalem which Barnabas represents.) But here we have Peter, the chief leader of the Hebrew Christians, baptizing an uncircumcised Gentile, and doing it, moreover, under a definite divine guidance and for a divinely authorized reason of doctrine

(10¹⁵). The action thus becomes part of official Church policy. This forms, therefore, a very marked precedent for Paul's later action in 13⁴⁶.

On the other hand, we must note that Paul went further than Peter; the final stage of expansion is not yet reached. It seems clear from the narrative that Cornelius, though not circumcised, was an adherent of the Synagogue. He therefore was one of that class, who in very many synagogues of the Dispersion, formed an outer fringe of Gentile adherents round the inner circle of Jews and circumcised proselytes (cf. 2¹⁷, 6⁸ note); they professed obedience to certain parts of the Jewish Law, and were allowed on these terms, though uncircumcised, to join in the synagogue worship; they may have been known as 'the God-fearers' (cf. 13¹⁶). Christianity found its best seed-plot in their circles; and it may have been partly because of the loss of their offerings, when they became Christians, that the Jews of the synagogues were so angry at Paul's success with them. (Here also, perhaps, is the point of Paul's repeated emphasis, in his letters, on the fact that he accepted no monetary help from his converts.) Thus Peter's action went so far as to admit such a man into the Church under exceptional circumstances. Paul went a stage further, when he turned directly, as a matter of avowed policy, to Gentiles who had previously been in no way affiliated to Judaism. The incident here paves the way for his action, it does not itself anticipate it.

We need not dogmatize too precisely as to the exact nature of the divine guidance given to Peter and Cornelius. It may be that the method of it has received a clearer outline in description than it possessed at the moment of the occurrences. But the story is told from the religious point of view, and if that is recognized the experiences bear no marks of improbability. It is likely that Peter (perhaps as a result of the questions aroused in his mind by Philip's actions) was on the way to discover the need of a more liberal policy, on the part of the Church, with regard to non-Jews. The character of his vision implies that he was thinking about the subject; and the message of Cornelius provided the occasion for a definite action. That the whole transaction had been divinely inspired was the natural belief of the actors in it.

We may note that this section seems to be chronologically misplaced. Cornelius seems to have been stationed at Caesarea for a long time. But a Roman garrison was not established in Caesarea till after the revolt that followed the death of Agrippa. Perhaps this section (or the whole section 9³²-11¹⁸) should come

after 12¹⁻²³, since in that chapter Peter is at Jerusalem, whereas in 12¹⁷ he is spoken of as leaving Jerusalem.

Caesarea. A garrison town and the Roman capital of the province of Judaea. The Italian 'cohort' (a cohort was divided into six centuries) has not been identified, but we know of a cohort of Roman citizens from Italy (and not of provincials) as being stationed in Syria in A.D. 69. Such may have been the cohort in this case.

2. The language describes typically Jewish piety. Cf. v. 22. Cornelius had kinsmen and friends in the town (v. 24).

3. '*in a vision*', yet *openly*. The terms seem inconsistent. But the purpose is to insist that the inspiration was more than merely a thought in Peter's mind; its origin was independent of him.

7. *devout*; probably also an adherent of the synagogue.

15. The disciples had learnt from Jesus to treat 'the tradition of the elders' freely, in the case of the ears of corn. But the law of Clean and Unclean Meats was a definite and important part of the law of Moses; and, in spite of Christ's words making all meats clean (Mk. 7¹⁹, R. V.), they may have been reluctant to apply their meaning in so wholesale a fashion.

Indeed the words in Mark read like an editorial note, added when the Church had begun to attain such an understanding of their Master, and it was thought well to point out the true application of that piece of teaching. The importance of the lesson in this place is that it implies the repudiation of the Jewish ceremonial law, and so sanctions the practice of the more liberal sections of the Dispersed Jews.

24. The Bezan text has 'As Peter was drawing near unto Caesarea, one of the servants announced that he was come; and Cornelius sprang forth and met him'. This accounts for Peter's double entrance in vv. 24 and 25.

25. *worshipped*. This need not imply more than profound homage, as common still in the East. Peter to Cornelius was a heaven-sent



A ROMAN CENTURION
From Colchester. 1st cent. A.D.

prophet. Probably he had heard of him, and been induced to send for him, as a result of Philip's preaching (8⁴⁰).

28. Peter begins by emphasizing his disregard of the strict Jewish custom of abstention from intercourse with uncircumcised Gentiles.

30. Here the angel figures as a 'man in bright apparel'.

34. Peter's speech opens by referring to the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus (claiming his life as well known already to his hearers). The inference is that Jesus is God's Vice-gerent and the ordained Judge of the world, of Whose coming and of the remission of sins through His Name the prophets bear witness. The speech reads as a mere summary, but its tone is less technically Messianic and more 'catholic' than the previous speeches to Jews. We can hardly say if Peter at this point reached (as v. 35 suggests) the consciousness of the universal mission of Christianity, or whether the speech attributes to him a liberality of outlook which he only fully attained later. Acts and Gal. 2⁹ treat Peter as the apostle to the circumcision, and even here (v. 42) he speaks of his charge as being to preach to 'the people' of the Jews. Possibly v. 35 really means here nothing more than the 'God-fearing' Gentiles, and is not so universalistic as it sounds to us.

36. Many MSS. omit 'which'. The parenthesis which calls Jesus 'Lord of all' overloads the sentence, and introduces the interpretation of Jesus' life too early in the speech. The title 'Lord of all' was in common Jewish usage for the God of Israel, and can hardly have been applied so soon as this to Jesus. Moreover, the whole idea of the speech is to emphasize the purpose and power of God in Jesus' life. We may have here a slight mistranslation of an Aramaic phrase meaning 'the word which the Lord of all sent. . .'

37. *Lit.* 'the story which was enacted', a Hebraism.

38. *anointed*. Cf. 4²⁷ note.

Jesus of Nazareth. Not here 'the Nazoraean', but the definite phrase 'from Nazareth'.

42. *he*, i.e. God, who is the subject all through.

44. This is a Gentile Pentecost, corresponding to the Jewish one in cap. 2. The tokens are the same (v. 46).

47. Note 'the water', the regular element for baptism.

48. Baptism is administered, without any question as to circumcision. But cf. 2³⁸ note. Peter apparently leaves the baptism to be performed by his assistants. Note that the baptism is regarded as necessary, though the Spirit has already fallen on them. That by itself is not considered sufficient, without the specific ceremony of admission to the fellowship of the Church.

XI. 1. The Church challenges Peter's action, and Peter seems to admit their right to do so and the necessity for a justification. The challenge (v. 3) is based on Peter's consorting with Gentiles, and the question as to his right to baptize them is not raised in so many words. But plainly, if the Jewish restrictions still applied to the act of 'eating with' Gentiles, it could be argued that fellowship in Church life was not in any full sense open to an uncircumcised man.

2. *they of the circumcision.* The Jewish Christians might be beginning to regard themselves as more orthodox Jews than a Galilean like Peter, who also was showing traces of a dangerous tendency to liberalism. They would perhaps begin to look to James as a more congenial leader (cf. Gal. 2¹²).

The Bezan text has an interesting variation: 'Peter then after some time would go to Jerusalem; and he called to him the brethren and confirmed them, speaking at length and teaching them from district to district; and he met them and announced to them the grace of God. And the brethren that were of the circumcision. . . .' This suggests (1) that Peter had given up living in Jerusalem, (2) that the dispute happened not at Jerusalem, but in some provincial place.

16. Cf. 1⁵, where also John the Baptist's words are attributed to Jesus.

18. Later events suggest that this is rather our author's inference, and that the Jewish Christians themselves hardly went so far as the words imply. We may say, broadly, that they could agree, even if unwillingly, that an uncircumcised 'God-fearer' might join in Christian worship and life. Their reasons for acquiescence would be: (1) the desire to avoid a rupture with Christians of more liberal ideas; (2) the influence of Peter; (3) that in so doing they were not going beyond the precedent often set in Jewish synagogues of the Dispersion (cf. 10¹ note). But their later antagonism to Paul, when he pushed the inference attributed to them in this verse to its logical conclusion, shows that they cannot have meant to throw the Church open to Gentiles of all sorts, whether they had been previously attached to the synagogue or not. Probably also—such is human nature—they may have thought that such cases as that of Cornelius were likely to be few and exceptional, before the Return of Jesus took place, and that a minority of Gentiles on the circumference of the Church might be tolerated, especially as they might possibly in time go on to be circumcised through the influence of the Jewish majority. They were far from anticipating

a Christian Church, in which the Gentiles would be in a great majority, as happened when Paul's work began to develop. Nor had the question of equality between Jewish and Gentile Christians yet been raised, though henceforth it was inevitable that it should arise. Hence this incident, crucial as it was and was seen to be in the light of subsequent events, might at present seem to them to be rather an exceptional condescension than the establishment of a far-reaching principle. But the author of Acts knew to what it had led.

19. A recurrence to 8⁴. Antioch, the second great metropolis of the Church, and the mother of Gentile Christianity, now appears in the narrative. It was a very great city, the seat of the imperial legate of the Roman province of Syria and Cilicia; Syrian, Greek, Jew, and Roman all met there; and in reaching Antioch, Christianity came into the full stream of the life of the Empire.

20. *Greeks*. (Ἑλλῆνες). Many manuscripts read 'Hellenists' (Ἑλληνοῖς), i.e. Greek-speaking Jews. But the action here is so plainly put as an instance of the new departure, that the reading 'Greeks' must be right. Preaching to the Hellenist Jews had begun long ago. We are not told that these 'Greeks' were 'God-fearers', but they may have been; if not, then Paul's step in 13⁴⁶ had already been anticipated. The whole plan of Acts represents that as the epoch-making action, which provoked the tremendous controversy recorded in cap. 15. None the less, Paul may not have been the first to take such a step.

22. Once again the need of confirmation by the authorities at Jerusalem, as in the case of Philip at Samaria, and Peter at Caesarea. In this case it is none of the Twelve who goes (perhaps they still regarded themselves as limited to Palestine), but Barnabas is sent as their representative; and he commits the Church to approval of the step, though this, unlike Peter's admission of Cornelius, is more like a deliberate policy of the Church as a whole. Barnabas was probably, as a Hellenistic Jew, more liberal-minded than the strict Palestinians, and the preaching had been the act of compatriots of his from Cyprus.

24. We must notice the special mention of Barnabas' qualities and spiritual gifts; it throws an interesting light on the attitude of the church at Jerusalem, which selected such a man for this work. Note that Barnabas' personal qualities are treated as a manifestation of the Spirit, as had been Stephen's eloquence.

25. Paul had been apparently preaching in Syria and Cilicia, so perhaps he was known to some.

26. *were gathered together*. The same word as is translated 'ye

took me in 'in Matt. 25³⁵ (συναχθῆναι—συνηγάγετε), so it may imply that they were received and entertained at the Church's expense.

with the church, lit. 'in the church', but of course there is no reference to a church-building, for such did not arise till long after the apostolic age.

Christians. In the New Testament only here, in Acts 26²⁸, and in 1 Peter 4¹⁶. The word is a regular Latin formation like Pompeian (of Pompey's partisans), Caesarian, Herodian, &c. Perhaps the name was first given by Roman officials; but it may not have been given at this moment; indeed we are not told that it was.

27. *prophets.* Often mentioned in the New Testament and ranked next to the Apostles. We read of them in Acts 13¹, 15³², 21⁹⁻¹⁰, as well as in Paul's Epistles, 1 Corinthians 12²⁸, 14^{29, 37}, Eph. 2²⁰, 3⁵, 4¹¹, and in Revelation 22⁹. We are told nothing as to any method of ordaining them, and obviously prophecy (= inspired utterance for edification or exhortation) would be a personal gift, needing not so much official ordination for its exercise as the recognition of the congregation, though this recognition might be conveyed by some official leader acting in the name of the congregation. They were apparently numerous in the early Church, and not always modest or self-controlled in their desire to exercise their gifts (cf. 1 Cor. 14²⁹); and, though the best of them no doubt were highly respected, the noisier prophets were in danger of drawing contempt on the whole order (cf. 1 Thess. 5²⁰). In sub-apostolic times definite tests are suggested for distinguishing between true and false prophets, and they seem by then to have become a strolling order of preachers, many of whom were inclined to mendicancy. But even then they were recognized, when properly accredited, as the proper persons, if present, to conduct public worship, and the only persons free to lead the worship in such words as they think fit.

The Bezan text reads 'And there was much exultation; and when we were assembled together, one from among them spake, by name Agabus'. This introduction of the 'We' may be evidence of the tradition that Luke was an Antiochene by race.

28. Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 43) and Suetonius (*Claudius* 18) bear witness that there were many famines in Claudius' reign (A. D. 41-54); but no general one is recorded, and the story here would imply that there was no famine at Antioch, but only in Judaea. Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 5) records a Judaeian famine as reaching its climax about A. D. 46, which may be the date of the visit in v. 30. It seems implied that the famine took place some time after the prophecy, and that the prophecy was not spoken in Claudius' reign.

all the world. Perhaps this may be a misrendering of an Aramaic phrase meaning 'all the land', i.e. (to a Jew) Judaea. Cf. Lk. 2¹, where 'all the world' may only mean the land of Palestine.

29. The point of this incident is to emphasize the comradeship between Antioch and Jerusalem, in view of the new adventure which the church of Antioch was so soon to inaugurate.

30. *the elders.* We cannot say for certain who these are; no notice of their appointment has been given. They could not be the Seven, who by now were probably scattered. It has been suggested that they might be the relief-officers for the Hebrew Christians (clearly they are in charge of the Church funds), or the household-presidents of the church of Jerusalem. In Acts 15^{6, 23}, 21¹⁸ they appear as a kind of advisory committee, under the leadership of James. It is safe to say: (1) that the system was borrowed from the Jewish synagogue, and possibly existed in the church at Jerusalem from the first; (2) that, if the Apostles by now were dispersed through Palestine (it seems probable that chapter 12 shows the disappearance of the last from Jerusalem), the affairs of the church in Jerusalem would fall into their hands; James certainly now became the regular head of the Jerusalem church; (3) that the position of paterfamilias, to the Jews and the best Gentiles, was definitely priestly, and that, since in the early Church the Christians apparently existed as a set of household-congregations, meeting in such houses as could accommodate more than one household for gatherings, the masters of such houses would naturally tend to preside at these house-meetings, and would become recognized as leading men in the general body; whether they were officially ordained or not we cannot say, but in the Pauline churches (14²³) we see a custom arising which may have derived its precedent from Jerusalem.

A difficult problem arises on comparison of the account in Acts with that in Galatians 2¹¹. Briefly, the question is, 'Is the visit of Gal. 2 = that of Acts 11³⁰ or that of Acts 15?'

The difficulty is as follows:—

Acts 11³⁰ announces a visit of Paul to Jerusalem for charitable objects, as being purposed. We are not told when it took place, but obviously Acts 12²⁵ places its completion after Herod's death in A.D. 44. There follow the narrative of the first missionary journey in chapters 13 and 14, and then the visit of Paul to Jerusalem in chapter 15, when the controversy with the Jewish Christians comes to a public issue. No definite chronological notes are given, but Acts clearly implies a sequence of events, the mention of John Mark in 12²⁵ explaining his presence at Antioch in 13⁵, and the controversy in chapter 15 arising out of Paul's action on the journey of chapters 13 and 14.

On the other hand, Gal. 1¹⁸ = Acts 9²⁶, and Gal. 2¹ states that Paul's second visit to Jerusalem took place fourteen years after his first visit (or eleven, if he is reckoning from his conversion), that he went 'by revelation' (this might be true of either visit, that in Acts 11³⁰ or that in Acts 15), that he went for a private conference with the Church leaders, for fear lest he should be hindered from future success with the Gentiles, and should also lose past gains (Gal. 2² 'or had run'); that after controversy an understanding was reached, and that Paul promised to keep the material needs of the church at Jerusalem in mind. His purpose is to show that his gospel was indebted to no human authority.

The clear divergences of the two narratives have led to the proposition of a bewildering variety of theories as to what actually happened. We cannot here go into the more subtle of the many arguments for and against these various theories; we must confine ourselves to the outstanding points to be considered in the problem:

(1) We may set apart all theories that deny the historical truth of either Acts 11³⁰ or Acts 15; such a denial is a desperate expedient, which should not be taken unless in the very last resort.

(2) We may postpone any theories which treat Acts 11³⁰ and Acts 15 as being complementary accounts of the same visit, and so accuse Acts not of historical untruth but of a chronological blunder. Such theories are too complicated to be worth considering, unless no simpler solution of the problem can be found.

(3) We can take it for certain that Paul in Galatians *must* have mentioned *all* his visits to Jerusalem up to the time of his preaching in Galatia. To omit any was to expose himself to the charge of being disingenuous or even untruthful. Even if his second visit was merely to take the alms of Antioch to Jerusalem, he was bound to mention it, unless he was a more obtuse controversialist than he usually appears, and did not see what a handle to his enemies such an omission might give; nor have we any ground for accepting the suggestion that his visit with the alms was to Judaea and not to Jerusalem, and so might have been omitted in Galatians. The story in Acts seems clearly to imply that the visit with the alms was to Jerusalem.

(4) We can say outright that Gal. 2¹⁻¹⁰ and Acts 15 do not tally, and cannot be made to tally satisfactorily by any supposition that the private interview of Galatians may have culminated in the public debate of Acts 15, or that Gal. 2 and Acts 15 represent two traditions of the same event, viz. (i) Paul's, that

it was an unofficial conference, and (ii) that of Acts, that it was an official Council. For the plain fact is that if Paul in Galatians 2¹⁻¹⁰ is describing any circumstances which correspond in the least to the story of Acts 15, his neglect to mention throughout the whole Epistle the fact that his view had been definitely conceded by the Jerusalem leaders is simply inexplicable.

(5) We are then left with the view which, *prima facie*, is after all the simplest and most straightforward, that the visit of Gal. 2¹⁻¹⁰ is the visit projected in Acts 11³⁰. There is nothing whatever to make this view impossible or even difficult. It is wholly probable that the idea of a Gentile mission may already have occurred to Paul and the Antiochene church, and that he may have consulted the leaders at Jerusalem about it, when he went to take the alms, though Acts does not mention the fact because it was a private conference.

On this theory, the visit of Acts 15 is not mentioned in Galatians. This may be explained by the fact that the Council did not take place till after he had preached to the Galatians. But, even so, it would be very strange that, in his epistle to them, he should not state that, after his visit to them, his view had been publicly authorized by the church at Jerusalem. The only reasonable explanation is that Galatians was written before the events of Acts 15 and is thus the earliest Pauline Epistle; that Judaistic opposition to Paul had already broken out in Galatia, as it did at Antioch (this may have been one of the circumstances which led up to the controversy at Antioch in Acts 15¹), and that Paul wrote to the Galatians, because at the time he had to go to Jerusalem with regard to the controversy, and so had to postpone his second visit to Galatia until the issue had been fought out at head-quarters.¹

XII. 1. The place of this episode in the narrative is: (1) that it records the event which led up to the disappearance of Peter from the scene, so clearing the way for Paul to become the chief figure; (2) possibly also there is some idea that this gives a last instance of the Jewish rejection of the Christian message. Pharisees, Sadducees, people, and now the king also, have rejected it; the conclusion is that the Jews 'judge themselves unworthy of eternal life' (13⁴⁶), and a mission to Gentiles is therefore divinely indicated as the right policy. The appalling death of Herod clinches the condemnation of the Jews.

Herod. This is Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great; he had been educated at Rome, where he won the favour of

¹ Cf. Kirsopp Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, cap. v; Emmet, *The Eschatological Question in the Gospels*, vi, 'The earliest Pauline Epistle'.

Caligula and Claudius, and had been given by Caligula the tetrarchies of Philip and Antipas, with the title of king, to which Claudius added Judea and Samaria. After his death in A.D. 44, the whole of Palestine became a Roman province. His policy was to win popularity with the Jews by orthodox observance of the Law. His persecution of the Church was probably due to his dislike of the Messianic claims that it made for Jesus, which he would regard as antagonistic to his own kingship.

2. Possibly there were other victims. A historian of A.D. 430 says that Papias (bishop of Hierapolis, born about A.D. 80) stated that John and James his brother were put to death by the Jews, so fulfilling the prophecy of Mark 10³⁹. Many scholars accept this statement, but, if it is true, the tradition of John's long life at Ephesus must have ousted this record from Church history, and Acts knows nothing of it. The story of James's martyrdom is told very briefly, and only as leading up to Peter's deliverance. Perhaps it is mentioned because, so far as we know, he was the first of the Twelve to pass away.

3. The Christians had never regained in Jerusalem the popularity which they had enjoyed until Stephen's preaching.

7. This story of an Angelic deliverance is told very circumstantially, and we are intended to take it realistically. If we are unable to do this, then the narrative may be regarded as the religious interpretation of a surprising release that really took place. It has been suggested that the story may be a doublet of the narrative in 5¹⁹, somewhat developed in detail.

10. The Bezan text, after 'they went out', adds 'and went down the seven steps'.

12. Apparently the main Christian meeting-place. Cf. 1¹³ note. Clearly it was a house with a portico.

15. *It is his angel.* The doctrine of a guardian angel can be traced in Matthew 18¹⁰, Heb. 1¹⁴. The belief in angels, which is more implied than explicitly stated in the pre-exilic parts of the Old Testament, and often is an obvious figure of speech, had been greatly developed, perhaps under Persian influences, in later Jewish literature; e.g. in Daniel we read of the angels of the nations (cf. 'the angels of the seven churches', in Rev.), whilst in Tobit 5²¹ we have the angel who accompanies Tobias, and in the extra-canonical apocalypses we find mention of whole hosts of angels, in a regular hierarchy, with individual names.

17. So James (the Lord's brother) is the recognized head of the church in Jerusalem (cf. Acts 15, 21¹⁸), which suggests that the rest of the Twelve had already left the city. But Peter reappears

in Acts 15 at Jerusalem, and the letter of 15²³ is sent in the name of 'the apostles' as well as others, though this need not imply that all, or indeed any others, of the Twelve were present.

to another place. Where? In Galatians 2 he is found at Antioch. Church tradition favours a visit of Peter to Rome in Claudius' reign, but Rom. 15²⁰ seems against it, and Acts 28²² implies that he was unknown in Rome even so late. Perhaps, however, he went to Rome for safety for a time, during which he lived in retirement.¹

20. Herod's displeasure with Tyre (according to Josephus) was already of some standing; we are not told of any disagreement with Sidon, but quarrels between conterminous districts were likely to be common enough. The King of Judaea had an economic hold on these two towns which imported corn from the cornfields of Galilee; and the threatened famine became severe in A.D. 45, 46.

21. The Bezan text adds 'on being reconciled to the Tyrians'. Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8) tells us that Herod exhibited shows at Caesarea in honour of Caesar and on the second day appeared in wonderful garments. Flatterers cried that he was a god, and the King accepted the flattery. Thereon he saw an owl on a rope above his head, and took it for an evil omen; he was seized by a severe pain in the belly, and died in three days. Acts is independent of Josephus here, and seems to give an earlier and more simple account; but it adds the religious interpretation, which Josephus only implies, that it was a punishment on his impiety.

25. Introduces Mark to account for his presence in 13⁵. He was a kinsman of Barnabas (Col. 4¹⁰), and therefore probably a Hellenistic Jew. The verse reads like an editorial insertion, and is textually uncertain. The MSS. vary between 'returned to' and 'returned from'. The former is probably wrong. To go to Jerusalem would hardly be described as a 'return' of Paul. But (a) some who accept the reading 'to' translate 'they returned to Jerusalem, and fulfilled their ministry, and took with them Mark'. The use of aorist participles after a principal verb to denote subsequent actions is said to be a feature of the style in Acts. Cf. 16⁶ 'and they went . . . and were forbidden . . . and came . . .', where the last two are aorist participles describing events that must have come after the transit through Galatia; 23³⁵ 'he said . . . and commanded' (aor. partic.—*lit.* 'having commanded'); 24²² 'he deferred them . . . saying' (*lit.* 'having said'); 25¹³ 'they came . . . and saluted' (*lit.* 'having saluted'). But the passage here would certainly be a more extreme instance than most of the parallels cited, where the participles can be taken as 'timeless' aorists, synchronizing with the action

¹ Cf. Rackham, *ad loc.*

of the principal verb; here they describe definitely subsequent events. The passage in 16⁶ is most like the idiom supposed to be used here, but there the construction is eased by the second principal verb 'they assayed to go' following the participles. (b) Some here read 'to', and conjoin it with 'having fulfilled their ministry', but such a construction would be very doubtful Greek. Still it would be a natural construction in Aramaic, and the Greek here may be a literal translation of such an Aramaic phrase.

After A. D. 44 the whole of Palestine, which had been reunited under Agrippa, was made a Roman province. There followed between A. D. 44 and 48 chronic disorder, revolts, bloodshed, and famine. Of all this we have no record in Acts. The bearing of this silence on the question of the date of the sources of this part of Acts has been noted in Introd. I (d).

XIII¹-XV³⁵. THE CHURCH THROWN OPEN TO GENTILES

XIII. 1. The purpose of this section is : (1) to give the last stage of the Church's expansion; the Council confirms the possibility of Gentile Christianity as a matter of recognized policy, rather than of sporadic acts of liberal feeling; (2) to show the process which brings Paul into the centre of the stage.

There were no Apostles at Antioch, and no one leader. The Church seems to be managed by a committee of five; we have no record of their ordination, and the whole system seems more 'democratic' and unofficial than that at Jerusalem. The five are called 'prophets' (cf. 11²⁷ note) and 'teachers' (whose work would be much like that of the prophets, but more didactic). We are not told which was which, though the Greek possibly indicates that the first three were prophets, and the last two teachers. Symeon may have been a Cyrenian like Lucius (cf. the reference to men of Cyrene at Antioch in 11²⁰ and Simon of Cyrene in Mk. 15²¹), Manaen (*Hebr.* Menahem) must have been brought up at Rome as a playmate of Herod. Saul would now be about forty-five years old, probably. The story of the journey is clearly based on first-rate information.

2. *ministered*. Gr. *λειτουργούντων*, the word used afterwards of divine worship, whence our word 'liturgy'. Obviously an important step was projected, and possibly Saul himself had suggested a forward move into the Roman Empire. Though Barnabas and Saul went first to the synagogues, the Gentile mission may have been conceived as a possibility.

the Holy Ghost said, speaking by the mouth, no doubt, of one of

the prophets. The point is emphasized to show that the new adventure had direct divine authorization.

3. The subject is not specified (the Bezan text adds 'all of them'), but probably a general action of the Church is meant, though the laying-on of hands would be done by the leaders in the name of the Church. Nothing shows that this was an ordination

to the apostolate, and Paul in Galatians denies that any man made him an apostle. He had already acted as an apostle in Syria and Cilicia, and the term 'apostle' was still used in a fluid way and not as the term of a regular office. This was a solemn dedicatory blessing on their work.



THE FIRST VOYAGE OF ST. PAUL

sent them away (*ἀπέλυσαν*), 'wished them Godspeed', *lit.* 'gave them dismissal'.

4. Another phrase of emphasis on the divine guidance. Seleucia was the port of Antioch, sixteen miles away. The choice of Cyprus would be due both to its proximity, and to Barnabas' connexion with the island.

5. *Salamis*, the eastern port of Cyprus. Mark is mentioned, because his later action led to the quarrel between Barnabas and Paul, and their separation. He is a mere subordinate, whose withdrawal at Perga did not lessen the representative character of the mission.

6. *Paphos* at the west end of the island. We have here another encounter with sorcery (cf. 8⁹ note). This Magian was probably a personage of some dignity and distinction, to be the 'domestic chaplain' of the proconsul, and one of his retinue or *Comitatus*.

The words of the text imply a preaching progress throughout the island, though not necessarily in every town. Cyprus had already had chances of hearing the Christian message (11¹⁹).

7. The title is correctly used. In 22 B.C. Augustus had made Cyprus a senatorial province (governed therefore by a proconsul) instead of an imperial one (governed by a legate under the Emperor's direct authority). The name of a proconsul called *Paulus* has been found in an inscription from Soloi in North Cyprus. He was probably, like many other cultivated Romans, interested in spiritual phenomena and the religious problems of the East.

8. *Elymas*, probably a Graecized form of the Arabic for 'Wise',

or of the Aramaic for ' Powerful '. (The Bezan text reads *Etoimas* = Ready). The term is a mere euphemistic substitution for *Bar-jesus* (' Son of Salvation '), which would seem to Christian thought an unfortunate name for a Magian sorcerer. The substitution is probably the work of the editor (cf. 4³⁶ note), but the record of the name *Bar-jesus* shows accurate information.

The Bezan text adds at the end of the verse ' for he was listening to them very gladly '.

9. *Paul* (Gr. ὁ καὶ Παῦλος), probably Saul's original Greek name. The change (probably due to the author and not to his source) is made here in view of the fact that now the Gentile world is being approached, and henceforth Paul becomes the central figure.

the Holy Ghost. No article: ' holy spirit '.

11. The blinding of Elymas is strictly temporary.

12. No reference is made to the baptism of Sergius, and it is very improbable that he was baptized. But the story is meant, as other occasions in Acts, to show the friendliness of typical Romans to the Christians; Acts is in this aspect the first Christian ' Apology ' to the heathen world.

13. *Paul and his company* (οἱ περὶ Παῦλον). So Mark was not the only attendant; the phrase definitely places Paul at the head of the party.

Two connected questions arise here: (1) Why did they not preach in Pamphylia? They probably meant to, and did so on their return journey (14²⁵). (2) Why did Mark leave them and not ' go with them to the work ' (15³⁸)? The most plausible answer is that Paul was taken ill. He says in Galatians 4¹³ that ' because of an infirmity of the flesh ' he first preached to them (the use of this reference assumes the correctness of the ' South Galatian ' theory, viz. that the churches founded on this journey are the ' Galatians ' of the Epistle. Cf. 16⁶ note). The climate of Pamphylia is extraordinarily enervating, and this, coming after the fatigue and strain of the work in Cyprus, may have brought on Paul an attack of illness (perhaps malaria, which is often accompanied by extreme headache, and Paul seems to have been subject to what he calls ' a stake in the flesh ', 2 Cor. 12⁷). His best chance would be to escape to the higher ground and more bracing atmosphere across the Taurus, even though the journey to Antioch, one hundred miles off, involved travel on a dangerous route, beset by robbers, and with a difficult river to cross. (We note that v. 14 here does not suggest that work in Galatia or Pisidia was contemplated, but only a visit to Antioch.¹) To

¹ Cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, cap. v.

Mark this may have seemed like a change of plan, to which he was not prepared to subscribe. Pamphylia was in all respects similar country to Cyprus and Syria, but the whole conditions north of the Taurus were very different; and he might think that the new route meant an abandonment of the work that had been intended. Paul obviously felt his action very keenly; he would do so, if his own illness were the cause of it. Barnabas seems to have borne no grudge against Mark because of it.

Perga, on the river Cestrus, eight miles from the sea.

14. *Antioch*, not 'of Pisidia', for it was not in Pisidia, but in Phrygia, but 'Pisidian Antioch' (so our best manuscripts here). It was so known, lying as it did near the Pisidian border, to distinguish it from Carian Antioch on the Maeander. It was a Roman colony and fortress, the head of the *Regio* or district of Phrygia, and the chief town of the Roman province of South Galatia. Its population included many Jews.

In Paul's state of health, they can hardly have started public work at once.

15. The circumstances are the same as in Luke 4¹⁶.

16. *ye that fear God*. Cf. vv. 26, 43—the uncircumcised adherents.

The main points of the speech are: (1) Jesus is the divinely promised scion of David; (2) the Jews of Jerusalem rejected Him; salvation through Him is now offered to the dispersed Jews; (3) His Crucifixion was a fulfilment of prophecy, and His Resurrection guarantees remission of sins and justification as attainable through Him. The speech has clear superficial similarities to that of Peter at Pentecost, and to that of Stephen; but its tone and many of its features are distinctive. Let us note that Acts is our only authority for Paul's style of mission preaching to Jews; and we see that, to them, he laid less emphasis on the Crucifixion than on the Resurrection. His Epistles (e.g. Gal. 3¹, 1 Cor. 2²) show us that, to Gentiles, the Crucifixion was the core of his message. But this distinction is, after all, one of emphasis rather than of substance (though it may well represent a variation which Paul consciously made between his message to Jews and his message to Gentiles). For Paul always sees the Crucifixion in the light of the Resurrection, which had set the seal of God's approval on the Sacrifice of the Cross. He preaches Christ Crucified, because the Resurrection shows this to be a message of salvation. The Crucifixion which he preached was that of One Who had risen again; the Resurrection was that of

One Who had been 'obedient to death, even the death of the Cross'.

17. The historical exordium reminds us of Stephen, but the *motif* and the points mentioned are quite different.

18. *suffered he their manners* (Gk. *ἐτροποφόρησεν*); probably it is more courteous, 'he treated them considerately'. Many MSS. read, with the alteration of one letter, *ἐτροφοφόρησεν*, 'he bare them as a nursing father'. Cf. Deut. 1³¹.

19. *four hundred and fifty years*. The current Jewish figure for the period of the Judges. The 'after these things' of v. 20 means 'after he had given them the land'.

21. *forty years*: not in Old Testament, but found in Josephus also.

22. Cf. Ps. 89²⁰, 1 Sam. 13¹⁴.

23. The promise is cited in v. 34. Note that the language here is Messianic in character. Jesus, the Son of David, is the one who brings the Messianic salvation. Cf. Essay at end of cap. 5.

24. *before his coming*: *lit.* 'before the face of his entering-in'. A Hebraism. The reference to John the Baptist as the Forerunner of the Messiah is new in the sermons of Acts, except for the vague reference in 10³⁷. The tradition about John here combines that which we find in the Synoptists and that in the fourth Gospel.

26. This clear appeal from the Palestinian to the Dispersed Jews is very notable. The reference to the Jews' ignorance is like that of Peter in 3¹⁷, as is also the statement that the Crucifixion was in accordance with prophecy.

29. *they*; i.e. the Jews. Paul may not at present have known the details of Jesus' burial. Luke knew them before writing the third Gospel. So either the source made this mistake, or Paul did; and the latter theory is very much the more probable.

31. Why does not Paul mention his own vision? Apparently he does not count himself as one of the witnesses of the Resurrection. But he is here only dealing with the public facts; the circumstances of his conversion were not yet common knowledge in Jerusalem (as his speech in c. 22 made them); and to appeal to the testimony of Jesus' personal disciples was obviously a stronger point for a general audience. His reasons for giving the story of his conversion in c. 22 are clear. The omission here is therefore a strong sign of authenticity.

33. *our children*. Seems very unlikely. Perhaps originally it read only 'the children'. The quotation from Psalm 2 is here connected with the Resurrection, which for early Christian thought was the event that authenticated Jesus' Messiahship. In Luke 3²² it is spoken

at His Baptism; and an early Western reading there substitutes 'this day have I begotten thee' for 'in thee I am well pleased'.

raised up: by the Incarnation; the Resurrection comes in the next verse. Cf. 3²⁶ note.

34. Isa. 55³.

35. Ps. 16¹⁰. The use of David's name is like Peter's use of it in 2²⁹.

39. The germ, but only the germ, of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith is given here. Here the implication is that the Law justifies from some things, but that more is needed for complete acquittal. In his Epistles Paul treats Faith as the medium of salvation, in place of the Law, which is totally ineffective. The broad meaning of the Pauline doctrine is all that can here be presented. (The literature on Pauline theology and on this special doctrine is immense in quantity; a short lecture by Prof. Peake on 'The Quintessence of Paulinism' gives an excellent bird's-eye view of Paul's central position.)

To 'justify' (*δικαιῶν*) always = 'to set right', 'to put on a right footing', not 'to make righteous'. Its meaning is forensic, not moral; and obviously the idea could become purely formalistic.

The O.T. view of justification is that man cannot set himself right with God by sacrifices, nor even by works; but the later Jewish reverence for the Law led in practice to something very like a belief in justification by works; and, as such, Paul found it totally unsatisfying (cf. especially Rom. 5-7). He declares that sin (not sins aggregated, but the state of sinfulness) cannot so be remedied. The right relation to God must come first; good works are the fruits of this relation; they cannot establish it, for it is the free act of God which does that; merit is the result of privilege, privilege is not the reward of merit, for God's grace is unbought. Sinful man can be justified, though he is still a sinner; and only by being put into the right relation to God is he enabled to receive the grace to become righteous in fact.

Thus Paul's doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ really rests on three propositions: (1) The action of God is always prior to anything man can do. God moves towards man, and man can at most only respond to God. This movement of God is His 'pre-venient' grace, which puts into man's mind good desires; and Christ's Incarnation is the culminating 'moment' of this movement. (2) Man's faith is a responsive surrender to God's movement. This assent is made easier to give by Christ. By giving this response man enters into union with God through Christ; and by this union he is made a new man, endowed with real power to become holy, though holiness is not yet attained.

He is, therefore, in the right relation to God, a son and not a slave, justified freely by God's grace, but not yet sanctified, for sanctification is a gradual process. (3) When man has thus entered into the right relation with God, he is enabled, by the grace of God 'furthering' him, to bring his good desires to good effect, to live righteously, to be sanctified.

Therefore, both for the initial act of justification and for the continual process of sanctification, man's own concurrence is required; but, all through, man can only answer to the prior action of God's grace, which is assured to men as unfailing and unconditional by the revelation of God's Love in Christ; man cannot precede God in the movement by which God and man become one, but he can respond by surrender and co-operation.

41. Hab. 1⁵. LXX. Once more a Messianic idea of the last days.

42. Paul's language does not seem to have aroused the animosity of these Jews. The Jews of this neighbourhood were out of touch with Palestine, and were probably lax in their orthodoxy (cf. what we read of the mixed parentage of Timothy of Lystra in 16¹); so this will explain their readiness to welcome Paul's words. The same may have been the case later with the Jews of Philippi and Beroea, who were probably settlers from Asia and who received Paul well, whilst the Jews at Corinth, and probably at Thessalonica also, who received him badly, had easy communication with Palestine.

43. We have here the traces of an eyewitness, in the description of first the public effect, second the private meeting.

the devout proselytes are probably the uncircumcised 'God-fearers'. The Bezan text adds 'and it came to pass that the word of God passed through the whole city'.

45. Probably Paul's second speech enlarged on the offer of salvation to the Gentiles, and on their equality in God's sight with the Jews. And no Jew, however lax, would tolerate that idea. The scene here may not be in the synagogue, as Gentiles seem to have been present *en masse*.

46. This turning to the Gentiles was repeated again and again afterwards, but obviously Acts regards this incident as the great turning-point. The narrative here is not quite in harmony with Paul's Epistles, where the Gentile mission is never treated as a regrettable necessity. But the author of Acts sees a further justification of the Gentile mission in the rejection of Christianity by the Dispersed Jews as well as by those of Palestine. To Paul the whole rejection by the Jews was a single outstanding fact, too painful to his Jewish feelings to be analysed or dwelt upon.

We may note that, though Paul hereafter felt himself quite free to address the Gentiles directly, he always goes to the synagogues first; and it was probably still among the Gentile 'God-fearers' in the synagogues that he found his best opening and success.

47. Isa. 49⁶.

48. *ordained*. No hint of predestination. The word means 'ready', 'disposed', and implies human choice.

49. The effect spreads in the whole 'region' of Antioch. They may have stayed a month or two in Antioch and the neighbourhood.

50. *the women*. A true touch; women were of greater influence in Asia Minor than in most other parts of the Graeco-Roman world.

the chief men of the city would be the city-magistrates, who expel them for the sake of order, but do not permanently exile them, since they soon return.

51. *Iconium*, ninety miles off; a town in the 'Region' of Antioch, governed by city-magistrates; incorporated in Roman Galatia, and the metropolis of a group of smaller cities which were now reckoned in Galatian Lycaonia. But the natives prided themselves locally on being Phrygian, not Lycaonian, though to Roman officials the town was reckoned as part of Lycaonia, and is so mentioned, e.g., by Cicero. Paul probably journeyed to Iconium in some comfort, as he now had helpful friends in the district (Gal. 4¹⁵). A late second-century document called the 'Acts of Paul and Thekla', which tells a fictitious story of Paul's doings at Iconium, but preserves some genuine local and historical touches from Pauline times, contains what may be a truthful reminiscence of Paul's personal appearance at this time as 'a man small in size, with meeting eyebrows with a rather large nose, bald-headed, bow-legged, strongly built, full of grace, for at times he looked like a man, and at times he had the face of an angel'.

52. No organization of the Church at Antioch seems to come into being at present.

XIV. 1. *together*. *Gr.* κατὰ τὸ αὐτό, better 'in the same way' (i.e. as at Antioch). Though Paul has 'turned to the Gentiles', he still begins in the synagogues with the Jews and 'God-fearing' Greeks. These first four verses have been suspected of containing some early gloss which has confused the narrative. The omission of v. 3 would remove the awkwardness. Perhaps, however, vv. 3-5 may be a more enlarged account of what is only given summarily in vv. 1, 2. The Bezan text tries to smooth the account by reading in v. 2 'but the chiefs and rulers of the synagogue incited a persecution against the righteous ones . . .' and adds at the end of it 'but the Lord speedily gave peace'.

3. *in the Lord*. Gr. *ἐν* = 'in reliance on'.

4. *apostles*, applied for the first time to Paul and Barnabas.

5. *rulers*, probably only of the Jews. This is another case of mob-violence.

6. *Lystra*, eighteen miles from Iconium (Derbe was a few miles from Lystra); it was a Roman colony, and Roman influence was strong there, but the older native element still formed the bulk of the population. No preaching to Jews is mentioned, but we hear of Timothy at Lystra in 16¹ as being of semi-Jewish parentage.

Derbe and Lystra were in the same administrative district as Iconium, but they had different city-governments, and Paul's collisions had been only with city-magistrates. In coming to these towns, Paul was entering a new 'Region', that of genuine Lycaonia. Lystra and Derbe alone are named, because most of the district was composed of villages.

7. The Bezan text adds 'and the whole multitude was stirred at the teaching. But Paul and Barnabas tarried in Lystra.'

9. The Bezan text reads 'This man listened gladly to Paul's sermon, and he was in the fear of God. And Paul . . . said with a loud voice, I say unto thee in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, stand on thy feet upright, and walk. And immediately on the moment he leaped up, and began to walk.'

11. A local legend of the neighbourhood told of the visit of Zeus and Hermes (probably Greek names applied to old local deities) to Philemon and Baucis (Ov. *Metam.* viii). The cry here is raised by the city-mob, and in the old local dialect; most people here would be bilingual; we are not told that Paul understood what was said, but the subsequent action of the mob explained itself. The belief that the more statuesque and silent of the two Apostles was the superior is characteristically Oriental. The Bezan text omits 'because he was the chief speaker'.

13. In Claudiopolis of Isauria, not far from Lystra, an inscription has been found *Δὲ προστίφ* = 'to Zeus before the city'. The victims were probably brought to the gates of the temple outside the city. The Apostles would be still in the city, perhaps in the market-place, and rushed out to prevent the purpose of the mob, when they heard of it. The worshippers were obviously of the native section, and not *coloni*.

15. The Bezan text has 'glad news of the God, that you may turn. . . .' In Asia Minor the 'great God' was regularly termed 'the God'. The character of Paul's speech is like that at Athens later, where the same idea is worked out more fully. There is nothing overtly Christian in its language (such as an inventor

would certainly have introduced), Paul being apparently anxious to get on terms, in the first instance, with these people on the basis of a belief in a supreme and good God.

19. The change of mood in the populace is very sudden, and vv. 8-18 have been suspected of being an interpolation from a source intended to bring Barnabas more into prominence; notice that here alone since Cyprus, except in Acts 15¹²⁻²⁵ (where special circumstances explain it, see note *ad loc.*), is the order given as 'Barnabas and Paul' (v. 14). Certainly v. 19 would follow well on v. 7. But this theory builds a great deal on the unlikelihood of sudden fickleness in an Oriental crowd.

20. There is no definite assertion that a miracle took place, or that Paul was dead. The Bezan text reads 'he rose up at evening'.

Derbe was a frontier-town, renamed Claudio-Derbe by Claudius.

21. They did not go on from the Lycaonia of the Galatian province to the other part of Lycaonia (known as Lycaonia Antiochiana), which was under a local dependent ruler, though it contained large towns; probably because Paul's mind was fixed on work in the Roman world. This division of Lycaonia was only in force between A.D. 37 and 72. Hence our belief that the record is first-hand is strengthened.

The stay in Lystra and Derbe may have lasted six months, though probably less. But the local magistrates of the cities had not permanently exiled them; so they could return, especially if (1) new city-magistrates had by now come into office; (2) the Apostles, as seems suggested in the history, did not preach openly, but only organized their converts.

22. *we*. This would imply perhaps that the author identifies himself with this idea.

23. *elders*. This was an official title in Asia Minor for a college of officers (e.g. of guilds). But possibly also the Christian elders' functions united those of the rulers of the Jewish synagogues. Most likely they would be men who had already taken an unofficial lead among the converts. The precedent of Acts 6⁸ gives ground for presuming that they were selected by popular suffrage but appointed by the founders of the church, with laying-on of hands. The word for 'appointed' (*χειροτονήσαντες*) normally means 'elect by show of hands', but it had now come to be used generally of designation by any means; cf. 'chosen before of God' in 10⁴¹, where the word is *προκεχειροτονημένοις*, a compound of the same word as here. The incident here gives what may be understood as the general rule in all Pauline churches. The duty of such elders (cf. Acts 20^{17, 28}) in time came to include the giving

of credentials to Christians on travel, the provision for instruction of catechumens, financial arrangements (e.g. relief-funds, contributions to social meals, the entertainment of visitors), administrative details, arbitration of disputes and exercise of discipline, and probably the presidency at public worship and meetings. Gradually they emerge as presbyter-overseers or presbyter-bishops (as we find them in the Pastoral Epistles). But at present, of course, the appointment is only the rudimentary stage of a regular organization, which subsequently developed into the ecclesiastical hierarchy of 'Orders' of ministry.

24. The rest of the story hurries on to Acts 15. A missionary tour in the Pisidian 'Region' and preaching in Pamphylia are just mentioned, but Cyprus is not revisited. The Christian Church has started its career in the full life of the Roman world, and that is the main outcome of the journey.

27. Here is the conclusion: a 'door of faith' without Circumcision has been opened to the Gentiles. We can imagine the thrill of the audience at the record of so epoch-making an event.

XV. 1. This chapter is the obvious climax, to which the whole preceding narrative of Acts has been leading up. The issue is openly joined, and the points are clear. On the one hand the orthodox Jewish section of the Church, though it had with some reluctance agreed to the admission of Gentiles in individual cases, was now confronted with the clear likelihood that the Church would be swamped by a large majority of uncircumcised converts; this would be a great obstacle to any chance of converting the Jews. The bitterness of the opposition may further be explained by the suggestion that the Jewish section in this chapter was largely composed of comparatively new adherents (we hear for the first time of Christianized 'Pharisees' in v. 5), and that Stephen's death and the subsequent persecution had weakened the liberal section of the church in Jerusalem. It looks as if the Jerusalem Christians had already begun to emphasize the policy of devoted adherence to the Jewish Law, which continued to mark them, up to the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. Essay after 15³⁵).

On the other hand, Paul saw that if Circumcision was made a *sine qua non* for full Christian membership, either his mission to the Gentiles would be rendered impossible from the outset, or else Gentile Christianity would have to become a sect in, or a schism from, a Jewish Christian Church, and a united Church would be wholly impracticable. The issue was really crucial, if the Church was to become in any real sense a universal body.

The relation of Acts 11³⁰, Acts 15, and Galatians 2¹⁻¹⁰ has already been discussed (cf. 11³⁰ note). A further question arises here as to the relation of Acts 15 to Galatians 2¹¹⁻¹⁴, where the story of the vacillation of Peter and Barnabas at Antioch is told. Does that incident come before Acts 15 or after? (a) If, as many scholars still hold, Galatians 2¹ and Acts 15 refer to the same event, then it is strange that Peter, after his brave words in



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Acts 15¹¹, should act so weakly as he is said to have done in Galatians 2¹²; it would be a serious, though perhaps not an incredible, inconsistency. We might evade this difficulty by regarding Galatians 2¹¹ as not intended to be taken as chronologically following on Galatians 2¹⁻¹⁰; and it is worth noting that there is no note of time in Galatians 2¹¹ such as is found in Galatians 1^{18, 21}, 2¹. But (b) if, as has been suggested, Galatians 2¹⁻¹⁰ refers to the visit which in Acts appears as the famine-visit (Acts 11³⁰), everything falls into place. The vacillation of Peter and Paul's resentment at it were among the incidents which provoked the reference of the issue to Jerusalem, and Peter's words in Acts 15¹¹ show the effect which Paul's rebuke had made on him. And the action in Galatians 2¹² of 'certain from James'

certainly looks very like the action in Acts 15¹ of the 'certain men from Judaea'.

This section presents some points of historical difficulty; but that it is, as some aver, a pure invention, is simply incredible. However uncertain we may be, mainly owing to lack of data, as to some details of the story, we can say with confidence: (1) that the controversy certainly occurred, for here Paul's Epistles corroborate Acts; (2) that it led to a conference and effort at settlement which did not repudiate Paul's action; Galatians 2 testifies that such a method had a precedent; (3) that the particular form of settlement here recorded has nothing unlikely in it (cf. Essay after 15³⁵), and is corroborated by the reference in Acts 21²⁵; and the story here bears several signs of good information. The record may be from *mémoire*, and some details in the debate may be due to the editor (e.g. James's quotation and perhaps the letter), but the main facts and the gist of the Decree must have been known to the author, and we have no ground for doubting that he gives them correctly.

On the other hand, Paul's Epistles make it clear that the controversy was much longer, sharper, and more doubtful, than Acts represents; it went on through the period of all Paul's earlier Epistles, whilst Acts treats the Decree as final. It may be that Acts has foreshortened the history of the settlement, and, having recorded the official Decree, henceforth leaves the controversy as something that has been settled in principle, though Paul's Epistles show that in practice it was some years before the settlement became effective. Acts is now entering on its second stage, the bringing of the Gospel to Rome; Church extension rather than expansion is henceforth its subject. To introduce continual mention of the aftermath of this controversy would only obscure the clear march of events in the process of geographical extension. So the Decree is made the terminus of the expansion (as, in principle, it indeed was), and the road is free for the story of the extension. To Paul, on the other hand, the controversy and its aftermath was the great issue in all his work, and his letters are naturally full of that which, to him personally, was the dominant preoccupation of his ministry. The circumstance that the second part of Acts makes no further reference to it (except incidentally in the story of events at Jerusalem) is due to the fact that, though biographical, it is still a history and not a biography.

Finally, we may note that in a special respect, which is of prime importance for a right view of Church history, Acts 15 gives us a view which is abundantly supported by other data,

in its representation of Peter's position in the issue. Peter becomes, even if with some backsliding, a Pauline and a Hellenist in the side that he takes. We have already seen how he was being led in the path of increasing liberalism, and possibly was alienating the orthodox Jewish Christians by so doing (cf. 11² note). The Epistles of Paul (1 Cor. 1¹², 9⁵) show that Peter travelled and worked in Gentile centres, which he probably could only have done if he was substantially in agreement with Paul on the subject of a Gentile mission; for no word in Paul's letters hints that an opposition to his work proceeded from Peter. Any opposition of the sort proceeded from Jerusalem, and possibly had grounds for looking to James as its head.

certain men. The Bezan text adds 'of those of the sect of the Pharisees who had believed'. The message was unambiguous enough; baptism without circumcision was ineffective for salvation.

2. *dissension.* Gr. *στῖσιν* = 'faction'. Perhaps faction in the Church at Antioch, besides 'questioning' with the new-comers. The Bezan text adds 'for Paul said that they should remain as they were when they had believed' (i.e. uncircumcised), 'and was vehement to this effect. But those who had come from Jerusalem charged them, Paul and Barnabas and some others, to go up to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem in order to be judged before them.' The subject of 'appointed' in the R.V. text is not specified. The mention of 'apostles' as well as elders, may be a general phrase, and need not imply that all those surviving of the Twelve had returned to Jerusalem. The addition of 'and certain others' shows good information. It has been suggested¹ that Luke himself was one of them, a theory which relies on the various touches of apparently first-hand evidence in this chapter.

3. Note, as a probably accurate touch, that Judaea is pointedly omitted from a share in the joy at the Gentile conversions.

4. Obviously a public audience.

5. The Bezan text reads 'they that had charged them to go up to the elders rose up, saying. . .'

6. The matter was not settled at the first audience. The issue was presented, and after an interval a gathering of the authorities meets in council.

7. Peter in his speech claims to have been chosen as the first apostle to the Gentiles; but in Galatians 2⁹ he accepts the position of apostle to the Circumcision. (If Galatians 2¹ = Acts 15 this is a strange inconsistency, and casts doubt on Peter's position here.) But possibly Peter was ready to deal liberally

¹ e.g. by Vernon Bartlet in the *Century Bible Commentary*.

with such cases of Gentiles as came in his way, without being ready yet for an avowed mission to them.

The words 'a good while ago' probably refer not to the case of Cornelius but to Luke 24^{47, 48}. The translation should be 'God chose you that the Gentiles through me . . .', i.e. 'chose you to convert the Gentiles, and I began it'. The construction ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξελέξατο for 'chose you' is the same as in 1 Sam. 16^{9, 10} (in the Greek Bible), ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐξελέξατο ὁ κύριος = 'neither hath the Lord chosen this one'. But the meaning here may be 'chose among you'.

9. Vv. 9 and 11 are in the purely Pauline and 'catholic' tone. V. 10 anticipates the words of James and the decree. One wonders if Peter can yet have reached so universalist an outlook. It is strange that nothing is said in this speech as to the commission from Antioch, but perhaps it is taken for granted.

12. *Barnabas and Paul.* The old order, as in v. 25; at Jerusalem Barnabas naturally appeared as the more important. The narrative, proceeding possibly from an Antiochene source, gives no summary of Barnabas' and Paul's speeches, save that they gave a general account of their work, instead of raising openly the question of principle. The Bezan text adds 'when the elders had consented to the things said by Peter'.

13. James sums up, as president. Acts must mean James, the brother of the Lord. James's quotation is from the LXX version of Amos 9¹¹; the Hebrew had 'that they' (i.e. the Jews) 'may possess the remnant of Edom and all the nations which are called by my name, saith the Lord', which is very different in idea from the LXX. It is nearly incredible that the essentially Hebraic James should have quoted the LXX; hence it is reasonable to infer (1) that at least this quotation was not part of James's original speech; (2) that the narrative here is derived from a Greek source, and shows signs of not being a verbatim report.

14. *Symeon.* Only here in Acts of Peter. Why? It might be accurate memory. But one wonders at the reappearance of the old name.

Symeon hath rehearsed how. The Greek for 'how' is καθώς, which conveys the idea of comparison; linguistically, it cannot be equivalent to ὅς = 'how' introducing a dependent sentence. It must mean 'as if'. The phrase therefore means 'Symeon hath made a report as if (in such a way as to imply that) God first visited. . . .' In that case it reads like a rather grudging admission that Peter's view looked correct; and we note that James seems to pass over Barnabas' and Paul's speeches altogether.

18. The readings vary here. Some (later) MSS. put a full stop and read 'who doeth all these things. Known unto God are all his works. . . .' The Bezan text is similar, with the omission of the word 'all'. The addition to the quotation from Amos is from Isa. 45²¹.

20. The Bezan text omits 'and from what is strangled' and after 'blood' adds 'and whatsoever things they would not be done to them, not to do unto others', as also in v. 29; and in 21²⁵ the omission recurs. Cf. Essay after 15³⁵. 'Fornication' might mean sexual laxity, or the cultus immorality of heathen religions.

21. The point of this verse is that the Jewish law is familiar to Jewish Christians, and is not abrogated in their case.

22. Judas may have been the brother of Joseph Barsabbas of 1²³, and might represent the more Hebraic section. Silas seems as if he was a representative of the Hellenist section. He became Paul's companion and (16³⁷) was a Roman citizen. Silas may be an Aramaic form of Saul; it was Graecized as Silvanus. Judas and Silas are called 'prophets' in v. 32.

23. *the elder brethren*. An archaic phrase, scarcely likely to be of later date. Later MSS. read 'the elders and brethren'. Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia alone are mentioned, perhaps because the question had been asked by them; this seems a sign of good information, and we note that Paul delivers the decree in Galatia (16⁴), but not in Syria and Cilicia (15⁴¹), because it had been officially sent there.

24. A definite repudiation of the extreme Hebrew section. The oldest MSS. omit 'which went out', and it may be a later insertion. The style of vv. 24-6 is like that of Luke 1¹⁻⁴ and may reveal his hand as editor.

25. *Paul*. Why not 'Saul'? Perhaps among the Hellenistic Jews to whom the letter is addressed, the name 'Paul' was in common use.

26. This must have counted heavily in the discussion.

28. *the Holy Ghost, and to us*. Cf. 5³². The decision is claimed as inspired. It has been suggested that the original reading was *πλὴν τούτων ἐπ'ἀνάγκης ἀπέχεσθαι* = 'than these; it is necessary to abstain'; the *τῶν* before *ἐπ'ἀνάγκης* having crept in by dittography from the second syllable of *τούτων*.

29. Cf. v. 20 note. The Bezan text adds to 'it shall be well with you' the words 'being borne along in the Holy Spirit'.

31. *consolation*: or better 'exhortation', i.e. the moral of the Decree.

32. *prophets*. Cf. 11²⁷ note.

33. The Bezan text adds 'but it seemed good unto Silas to abide there, and Judas went alone'. This accounts for Silas' presence in v. 40. It may be correct. On the other hand, it has been suggested¹ that the author of the (supposed) source for this chapter did not know that Silas had gone off with Paul, and that therefore this source must have been written before the next missionary journey began, i. e. perhaps A.D. 49-50.

35. A summary of continued work. Here, it is maintained, the Aramaic document or documents used for the first half of Acts ended, and the character of the language changes, very little further trace of Aramaic idiom being discoverable.

with many others. A sign of good information. Their presence made it possible for Paul and Barnabas to go away again.

ESSAY C. THE DECREE OF ACTS 15 AND ITS RESULTS

We have already noted (e.g. 6⁸ note) the tendencies to liberalism that were at work in the Jewish synagogues of the Dispersion; and the story of Acts has shown how the logic of circumstances had been driving the Christian Church in the direction of a similar liberalism, in which the Hebrew section at Jerusalem reluctantly acquiesced, partly perhaps because they hoped that few cases would arise for such liberality (cf. 11¹⁸ note). The position was already strained, but the real crisis would arise (1) if the number of Gentile converts became large and threatened to swamp the Jewish element; (2) if many of these Gentiles had previously been, unlike the 'God-fearers', in no affiliation to the Jewish synagogues; (3) if the question of equality, within the Church, and of mutual social relations between circumcised and uncircumcised was raised. Paul's first journey brought all these points into prominence. The issue was plain; was Baptism a substitute for Circumcision?

We cannot say how far Antioch had gone; but clearly it was more liberal than Jerusalem, and probably many of the Antiochene Jews were prepared to allegorize the law to a considerable extent. The conflict within the Christian body was, therefore, between orthodox Jewish ideas and the more liberal ideas of the Jewish Dispersion, which Paul was already extending to cover something remarkably like an overt Universalism, in which the Jewish law became more and more a vanishing quantity.

The Decree of Acts 15 is presented as a settlement of the issue, but its exact character is a matter of textual uncertainty. (1) The

¹ By Torrey. Cf. Introd. I (d).

Greek MSS., and Greek fathers like Clement and Origen, represent it to be a decree of four clauses, dealing mainly with ceremonial restrictions as to particular kinds of 'unclean' meats; (2) the Bezan texts, the Latin versions, and fathers like Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian, have it as a three-clause decree, prohibiting idolatry, fornication, and blood (i.e. murder, which would include such practices as abortion, child-exposure, the killing of slaves, &c.) and adding the golden rule in its negative form (though Tertullian omits this last). This then is a decree enjoining certain ethical laws, and saying nothing as to ceremonial rules.

The literary evidence being thus evenly balanced, we have to ask: (a) which form was more likely to be misunderstood by a copyist; (b) which form in itself is the more probable? To this there can only be one answer. If the four-clause form was original, it would be perfectly clear, and we cannot conjecture how 'things strangled' could come to be omitted. But if the three-clause form was original, the word 'blood' would be ambiguous, and a copyist, misunderstanding it to refer to the Jewish law of unclean meats, might insert 'things strangled' to explain 'blood' as meaning 'bloody meats'. Again, it is inexplicable, on the first alternative, that Paul never makes any reference to a Christian food-law in Galatians, Corinthians, or Romans. But the three-clause law would be exactly along the lines of the similar relaxations of the Jewish law that had been tolerated, for Gentile adherents, in the Synagogues of the Dispersion, where the ethical requirements had been exacted, but the ceremonial requirements foregone.

The Decree in general contains two main elements: (1) Gentile Christians are absolved from Circumcision. Presumably Baptism and the gift of the Spirit are accepted as a sufficient purification, so that no defilement is contracted by associating with them. (2) No exemption from the Jewish law is granted or suggested, for Jewish Christians (15^{19, 21}). In sum, then, the extreme Judaizers are rebuffed, but Paul's principles are not uncompromisingly accepted. The Decree is worded to have only a local bearing; and it declares part of the law to be 'necessary'. So far as it goes, a distinction between strong and weak Christians could still be maintained, which would attribute superiority to circumcised Christianity. And no rule is laid down as to the social relations of Jewish and Gentile Christians; yet, obviously, if a Jew could consort with a Gentile Christian, the Jewish law was abrogated, and the Church had ceased to be a sect within Judaism; if he could not, the Gentile was inferior. The Decree in fact was

a compromise to keep the peace. It did not settle the question of principle whether the law was good or not, and whether Faith was superior to it, as a means of salvation.

Such a recognition of a duality within the Church could not last. We do not know if the Jerusalem leaders expected it to last. Probably they trusted to time to settle the issue, and had not yet grasped the principle at stake, as Paul had. The Twelve left the work with the Gentiles to him. It was probably not till later that Peter or any other of the Twelve preached to Gentiles. And Paul would be glad of any compromise, which enabled him to go on with his work, and avoided a schism. To him the most important thing clearly was to give a chance for a real welding of Jewish and Gentile Christianity into one. Time alone would do that, if time was allowed. For a time, probably, a Jewish Christian anywhere would continue to attend the Jewish synagogue. And Paul is emphatic in his advice to Gentile Christians not to offend the conscience of their weak (i.e. Jewish) brethren; note how Paul consistently treats the Gentile Christians as the stronger, because the more free. Perhaps, where the numbers made it feasible, separate organizations of Jew and Gentile Christians existed for a time. Galatians 2¹¹ makes it plain that at Antioch they ate at separate tables or perhaps even in separate buildings.

But in practice, as time went on, if there was to be any Church life at all, there would have to be some accommodation on one side or the other; if so, it must clearly be from the Jewish side; so much the Decree had settled by exempting Gentile Christians from circumcision, and this represents Paul's one solid gain in the controversy of Acts 15. So, in the Dispersion, a gradual *rapprochement* between Jewish and Gentile Christians proceeded. The Jews were in a minority, and the influence of Paul and the pressure of the environment would all tend to emphasize the tendency to greater relaxation of Jewish observance on their part. Some Jewish Christians, even as late as A.D. 150, are still to be found, who observe the law, but do not proselytize among Gentile Christians, though they do not associate with them more than they can help. Christian opinion at that time treats these as men who can pass for Christians and no more. The churches have become overwhelmingly Gentile, and Jewish Christianity has mainly been driven into the ranks of the Ebionite heresy, of which we hear in Cyprus, Asia Minor, Rome, and Syria, which regards the law as obligatory and rejects Paul; this heresy only died out in the fourth century.

In Jerusalem, on the other hand, the Church became increas-

ingly Jewish. A regular anti-Pauline mission proceeded from it. James lived the life of a devout Jew; and we see from Acts 21^{20, 21}, Romans 15³¹ that Paul was, and knew himself to be, suspect to the Christians of Jerusalem. This Judaizing strain continued there till the Jewish insurrection of A.D. 66, when the Christian church of Jerusalem fled to Pella beyond Jordan and elsewhere. After A.D. 70 Jerusalem lay a desert for sixty years, and the Jewish Christian church is almost hidden from view except for the names of a few bishops of Pella and other places; we do not know how far it remained faithful to Mosaic observances. In A.D. 132 occurred the last Jewish revolt under Barcochba; and after it Hadrian founded the city of Aelia Capitolina on the site of Jerusalem, strictly barring entrance into it to circumcised Jews, but allowing it to Christians if they gave up Judaism. The Christians seem mostly to have accepted the invitation, and the Gentile church of Aelia (the name Jerusalem was restored under Constantine) came into existence with a Gentile named Marcus as its bishop. The Jewish Christians who refused to give up Judaism remained scattered and isolated from the general life of the Church, and drifted into heresy. We hear of a sect of Christian Jews in Syria called Nazarenes, who disappear after A.D. 400, whilst the more extreme of them seem to have formed themselves into the Ebionite communities, to which we have already alluded; some of these had an offshoot in the Elkesaite sect, whose views, so far as we can trace them, were a mixture of Ebionism with Jewish Essenism and heathen theosophy and magic. This sect originated, and never had any life except, in the country east of the Dead Sea, but in the sixth century Mohammed lived for some time in an Elkesaite community, and to this fact may be due the strange mixture of Jewish and Christian elements which can be seen in the Koran. (Cf. Kirsopp Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 48; Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 248.)

XV³⁶-XVIII²². PAUL IN GREECE

XV. 36. This second visit is curtly narrated; no new work was started, nor did any new development of policy take place. The story of the next forward stage begins in 16⁶. This visit was to follow up the effects of the letter to the Galatians (if the theory of its date before the Council is correct).

Paul speaks of a mere revisiting, but may have had larger ideas in mind already. 16⁶ implies that he wanted to go to Asia, i.e. to Ephesus and the Roman province.

37. Mark would probably have to be fetched from Jerusalem ; perhaps Silas was also there, unless the reading (in v. 34) which places him at Antioch preserves a true tradition.

38. Cf. 13¹³ note.

39. The discussion may have been due to, or heightened by, the events alluded to in Galatians 2¹³ ; Acts says nothing of any disagreement on a matter of principle between the Apostles, and refers this to a merely personal reason.

Barnabas passes from the story ; to the author his later work did not seem to give any important contribution to the organized Church. A colourless but not unfriendly reference to Barnabas is found in 1 Corinthians 9⁶, and Mark is warmly mentioned in Colossians 4¹⁰, Philemon 24, 2 Timothy 4¹¹. An early Church tradition named Mark as Peter's 'interpreter', probably at Rome.

40. Silas was Paul's companion as far as Corinth, and is named with him and Timothy in the opening of the two letters to Thessalonica. In 1 Peter 5¹² he appears as a companion of Peter. Note that he replaces Barnabas, not Mark ; also that this verse emphasizes the fact that Paul's was the official mission, whilst Barnabas' was a private venture.

41. These would be churches of Paul's foundation during the period alluded to in Galatians 1²¹. Paul went by the land-route, but Tarsus is not mentioned.

XVI. 1. Derbe is mentioned first, because they are entering Lycaonia from the south.

2. Lystra and Iconium were in close relations ; the connexions of Derbe were more eastwards.

3. Timothy may have been a convert of Paul's former visit. To circumcise him is contrary to Paul's principle in Galatians 5² ; but Paul certainly was not always so opposed in practice to the Mosaic law as he appears in Galatians to be in principle (cf. Essay at end of c. 26). Timothy was half a Jew, and Acts is studious to show Paul's conciliatoriness to Jewish feeling ; besides, as they would usually lodge at first in Jewish quarters, the presence of Timothy, if uncircumcised, would be a real impediment. The incident shows, however, that the controversy about circumcision was still present in the church of Lystra.

The choice of Timothy seems (1 Tim. 1¹⁸) to have been indicated by prophecy, and to have been sealed by the laying-on of the hands of the local elders, and of Paul himself (1 Tim. 4¹⁴, 2 Tim. 1⁶, if those passages refer to this occasion). His name appears in the opening of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Colossians, and

Philemon. He was Paul's constant companion for the rest of his history.

4. The language is that in vogue for the delivery of imperial rescripts.

The author wishes to show Paul's loyalty to the Council ; but we hear no more of the Decree hereafter, and Paul makes no allusion to it in his epistles. We are forced to conjecture that the Jewish mission of opposition to Paul, which was still active (though, as has been said, we hear nothing of it in Acts), precluded him, in his own interests, from further deference to the Jerusalem Decree.

6. *the region of Phrygia and Galatia* (Gr. according to the best manuscripts 'the Phrygian and Galatian region', i.e. a region which was Phrygo-Galatic). This would seem most reasonably interpreted as the Phrygian region in the province of Roman Galatia, i.e. South Galatia, which comprised parts of Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Pisidia, including Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe ; and so this would be Paul's second visit to the Galatians of his epistle. The interpretation formerly accepted refers 'Galatia' here to North Galatia, the country conquered in the third century B.C. by the Gauls, a big district with very few towns, of which Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium, are the chief, and which used to be part of the old Phrygia before the Gaulish invasion. But the objections to this view seem overwhelming ; thus (1) Acts is generally careful to use the nomenclature of localities correctly ; why does it not say 'Galatia', instead of 'the Phrygo-Galatic region', if North Galatia is meant ? (2) If the Galatians of the Epistle are the North Galatians, we have the astonishing fact that no reference to the churches of South Galatia appears in the whole of the Pauline Epistles, though Paul visited them several times. (3) The Jewish anti-Pauline emissaries would more probably keep to the more frequented routes in their progress ; thus it would be very unlikely to find them in the comparatively out-of-the-way districts of North Galatia ; and yet Galatians makes it plain that they had been at work among the Galatians whom Paul had converted. (4) He tells us in Galatians 4¹³ that he originally preached in Galatia through the accident of bodily sickness. This, as we have seen, is easily explicable if it refers to his first visit to Pisidian Antioch (cf. 13¹³ note). But, if it happened now, it would mean that, during a course in which he plainly intended to go into Asia, and, failing that, into Bithynia, he took a huge detour eastwards, not intending to preach in Galatia ; for what purpose then did he turn east at all, unless to preach even further east, e.g. in Pontus or

Cappadocia? But the whole course of his journeys is obviously directed westwards, towards the great cities of Asia Minor, and eventually to Rome. To go so far east would be to go right off the main line of Graeco-Roman life, and would little accord with one's ideas of Paul's powers of Church statesmanship.¹ And his work in Galatia would necessitate very long and fatiguing journeys, at a time when he was physically ill.

The South Galatian theory,² largely though not universally accepted by scholars, seems entirely convincing. And, if we ask why this interpretation was ever lost, the answer is simple; it was lost because during the second century A.D. the Romans separated off Lycaonia from the province of Galatia, and united it into a province with Isauria and Cilicia; and thereafter it was easy to forget that the churches of Lycaonia had ever been reckoned in the Roman province of Galatia.

If the Galatian letter was not written before the Council of Acts 15 (cf. 11³⁰ note), it must have been written soon after this visit. The work of the anti-Pauline mission would find a good excuse, in the circumcision of Timothy, for accusing Paul of 'preaching Circumcision' (Gal. 5¹¹), and for insinuating that he was insincere in his championship of Gentile freedom. And the resemblances, of tone and the situation of affairs, between Galatians and Romans and 2 Corinthians suggest the inference that all three epistles were written in approximately the same period. But the historical difficulties in the way of placing Galatians after the Council of Acts 15 have already been noted, and on the whole they outweigh the literary difficulty of separating Galatians from Romans by five or six years.

having been forbidden. The attempt to preach in Asia must have come after passing through Galatia. On the construction of the participles cf. 12²⁵ note.

7. *Mysia* was part of 'Asia', and had to be passed through, in order to reach Troas. The prohibition was against preaching in Asia, but against setting foot at all in Bithynia. Bithynia, lying to the northward, and on the Propontis and Black Sea, might seem a promising field, facing Asia. In A.D. 112 we hear from Pliny, governor of Bithynia, that Christianity was very widespread in the province.

The plain meaning of these verses is that Paul was driven on, against his own intention and judgement, to Troas, where he must either cross to Europe or return home; and that, in the manner by which he came to Troas, he (and Luke as well) read

¹ On which cf. Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, cap. iii.

² Cf. Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, iv, vi.

divine guidance. How this guidance was given, whether by vision, by internal promptings or deliberation, or by force of circumstances, is not specified. But we can see for ourselves that Paul might need preparatory training in Greek life, before he came into 'Asia', which was the great centre of Hellenism; and that Bithynia lay too much to the side of the track which led westwards and to Rome. As he recalls his first intentions, and what he actually did and what came of it, he is clear that divine action was at work over-ruling his course.

the Spirit of Jesus. A unique phrase in the New Testament, though it has an analogue in 2 Corinthians 3¹⁷. Perhaps it means a vision of Jesus in person, as in Acts 22¹⁸.

9. *a man of Macedonia.* Nothing would distinguish him as such in his dress, for the ordinary Greek dress was worn in Macedonia. But either the words showed his origin, or the vision was of a certain individual man (Gr. ἀνὴρ Μακεδόν τις), whom Paul already knew as a Macedonian. It is a fascinating conjecture¹ that this was Luke himself, who perhaps had made Paul's acquaintance at Troas, and whose conversation had planted a germ of purpose in Paul's mind, which the vision brought to maturity; and we note that the 'We' which marks Luke's presence in the company starts at once. Luke may conceivably have been of Philippian connexion, if not of Philippian birth (cf. *Intro.* I (c)).

10. *we.* Here the first 'We' section starts, and lasts till v. 17, though probably Luke was present till v. 40, but played no part in the incidents after v. 17. Of course, however, Luke might have been with Paul all through the journey, and only shows his presence here in this indirect way, because Paul had previously been on old ground, and the thrill of definite direction for new work only came at Troas. But the summary narrative of vv. 6-8 looks more like a speedy *résumé* of what had happened before Luke joined the party.

11. *Samothrace*, an island half-way across. The winds were favourable, and the journey only took two days, whilst the return journey in 20⁶ took five. Note how Luke shows, as elsewhere, a Greek feeling for the sea and harbours.

Neapolis, on the Strymonian gulf.

12. *Philippi*, eight miles north of Neapolis, made a colony by Augustus; a meeting-place of East and West, and so a good centre for work. The description shows the author's special interest and pride in the city. This might be due to previous

¹ Cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, *ad loc.*

connexion with it, or to later residence in it (perhaps during the interval of Acts 17¹-20⁶, if Luke remained at Philippi all that time). Thessalonica was the capital of Macedonia, and Amphipolis the chief city of the district in which Philippi lay. But Philippi was growing already, and was soon destined to outstrip Amphipolis. At present, as it has been put, 'Amphipolis was first by general consent, Philippi first by its own consent.' Such city rivalries for the first place are common in Greek antiquity.

13. *a place of prayer*, a *proseucha* (cf. 1¹⁴ note). There cannot have been many Jews here, if there was no regular synagogue, but only a prayer-enclosure, near the river for convenience of lustrations. Only women are present; they found it easier than men to adhere to Judaism, as they were not required to be circumcised. The teaching seems only to have been informal.

14. *Lydia*; the name of her country of origin, Thyatira being in Lydia. She must have been a woman of some means, as the purple industry required capital. Lydia was a 'God-fearer'.

15. The solidarity of household-feeling in antiquity would explain the mass-baptism of the whole household. Luke was obviously not a householder in Philippi, nor had he friends there, for he too went to stay with Lydia.

16. *a spirit, a python (lit.)*. Pytho was the name for the prophetess of Apollo, the slayer of the dragon Python. Plutarch (ii, 414 E) tells us that the name was applied to ventriloquist divination. This is another encounter with sorcery (cf. 8⁹, 13⁶).

17. *the Highest God* was a widespread pagan expression, as also the reference to 'a way of salvation' (better than 'the way'), the name 'Saviour' being often found applied to various deities. No distinct motive for the ventriloquist's action is assigned; perhaps it was the sincere expression of a psychical sensitiveness, which had drawn her attention to the party. At any rate it is quite natural.

18. To Luke the incident is a signal triumph of the name of Christ over 'the spirit'. The exorcism disconcerted the girl, and destroyed her faith in herself and so her power.

19. *before the rulers* ('*archontes*'); in the next verse they are called *stratēgi*=*praetores*. They were known as *duoviri*, and had the right, as the heads of police in a Roman colony, to have *lictors* with the *fascēs* ('rods'). The title *praetores* might be given them by popular courtesy. The double mention of their being brought before the *duoviri*, the expression hovering between the Greek and Latin usages, may be a sign of imperfect revision by the author.

21. The form of accusation shows the unpopularity of the Jews, and the Philippian pride in their Roman status. Judaism

was a *religio licita*; but these men were differentiating themselves from the Jews. So their religion was a *religio illicita*, or at least their organization was an illicit guild (*collegium illicitum*). This shows that Paul's work in Philippi had included much which Acts passes over, and had comprised the forming of a regular church, and so must have lasted some time. We read in Philippians 1¹ of overseers and ministers (*episcopi* and *diaconi*) at Philippi, and of the help which women gave him (Phil. 4^{2, 3}). Women in Macedonia, as in Asia Minor, were more free and influential than in most districts of the Graeco-Roman world.

22. No form of law is observed; perhaps Paul appealed to his citizenship, but was not listened to. Horace's (*Sat.* i. 5. 34) satire on the self-importance of local officials should be read as a commentary on the action of the magistrates here. It is not clear from the Greek whether the magistrates rent their own clothes, or that of the prisoners in stripping them to be scourged.

23. The gaoler was governor of the prison, possibly a centurion.

24. *the inner cell*, probably underground, the door being held by a bar, and the 'stocks' being fixed to the wall. Luke regards the earthquake as providential. It separated the doorposts and detached the stocks from the wall.

27. Presumably the prisoners did not escape, because they were as much frightened by the earthquake as the gaoler was. But the gaoler may well have thought that they had, and that he would be blamed. Looking into the darkness of the cells, he would not be able to see any one. But the door being open, there would be enough light for Paul to see that all were there.

30. The Bezan text adds 'when he had secured the rest, he came to them and said, Sirs. . .'. His alarm would explain his reverence. His question implies nothing but a vague idea of 'salvation' (probably not merely 'safety') as something to which these men can direct him.

33. Once more a household-baptism; and very little instruction can have been given to prepare for it; but the kindly treatment showed a right attitude of mind in the gaoler.

35. *serjeants*: lictors. The Bezan text reads 'the magistrates assembled together in the market-place and, remembering the earthquake which had happened, were afraid'. Superstitious fear may have had something to do with it, and also the fear that they had acted illegally.

37. A Porcian law forbade the scourging of Roman citizens, and the Emperors made a point of maintaining the dignity of Roman citizenship.

uncondemned (so also in 22²⁵). Even if condemned, a Roman citizen could not be scourged, and Paul knew it. He must have claimed his rights in the Roman tongue, and the phrase he must have used would be *re incognita* or *indicta causa*=‘without examination’, an added touch of illegality. Luke, as a Greek, does not appreciate the delicacies of Roman legal usage. We may note that Paul’s appeal to his citizen-rights was to establish a precedent; for his work, Roman protection would be essential against the licence of mob-violence. To Luke it would be interesting as a token that Roman law was friendly to the Christians.

39. The Bezan text reads ‘and they came with many friends into the prison and besought them to go forth saying, We were ignorant of the truth about you, that ye are righteous men. And they led them out and besought them, saying, From this city depart ye, lest the mob gather again before us, shouting out against you.’ This is an explanation rather than a reading, but it is probably very true to the motives and situation. The magistrates were afraid of the mob, and yet would not dare to make scapegoats of Roman citizens, even if they were friendless Jews. They come with a request, not an order of expulsion, but it could not be disregarded.

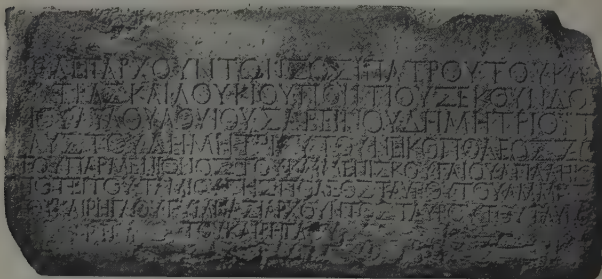
XVII. 1. *they*. So Luke did not go. The ‘We’ reappears in 20⁵, perhaps six years after. Luke may have been at Philippi all that time, but we cannot be certain; if he was, his intervening narrative must be due to oral information. But he may have rejoined Paul earlier, especially if he was his medical attendant; we are not forced to suppose that he was not present except when the ‘We’ is used; there may have been no occasion for him to note his presence. Anyhow, the story of the events at Thessalonica, at Corinth, and of the latter part of Paul’s stay at Ephesus, bears clear marks of first-hand information; the story of Paul at Athens is less detailed; for the earlier stories about Ephesus it is difficult to determine the authority.

Thessalonica, about 100 miles from Philippi. Amphipolis and Apollonia are on the way; all three on the *Via Egnatia*. Perhaps there were no synagogues at the first two towns, and so they only passed through them. There was only one even in Thessalonica, which indicates that Jews were few in Macedonia. Thessalonica, the capital of Macedonia, was a ‘free city’, and had an assembly and ‘politarchs’ or city-magistrates of its own (five in number in Augustus’ reign, six under the Antonines). The title, in the exact form which Luke here uses, has been found on a Roman arch of the first century A. D. in Salonika (the block containing

the list of 'politarchs' is now in the British Museum), and in other inscriptions from Macedonia (cf. Hastings, *Dict. of Bible*, s.v. 'Rulers').

3. It seems likely that at Thessalonica, as elsewhere, the usual quarrel with the Jews and turning to the Gentiles took place, that his work among Jews was succeeded by a longer term of work among the Gentiles, during which financial help came to him 'once and again' from Philippi (Phil. 4¹⁶) to supplement what he made by his trade (1 Thess. 2⁹). The narrative in Acts is a mere summary.

4. The Bezan text reads 'many of the devout' (i.e. God-fearers), 'and of the Greeks a great multitude. . .'. 1 Thessalonians shows



LIST OF 'POLITARCHS' The inscription in the British Museum

that the mass of the Thessalonian converts had come over from heathenism. The R.V. text in Acts only notes two classes.

5. *Jason*, probably a Jew (cf. Rom. 16²¹). We note that most of the converts were of the fairly educated class, and that the mob was composed of the street-rabble. That this riot was serious, and involved, or was followed by, a persecution of the church, seems clear from 1 Thess. 2¹⁴⁻¹⁶, 3¹⁻⁵, 2 Thess. 1⁶.

bring them forth to the people, i.e. arraign them before the popular assembly.

7. *king* (Gr. βασιλεύς, a term applied to the Roman Emperor). The accusation was a vague one of treason. The Christians did refuse to call the Emperor their 'lord'.

9. *security*, i.e. for their appearance if called up for trial, or for their departure from the city. Paul could only withdraw and hope to be able to return, if a change of the politarchs' policy took place. To the magistrates this would seem the mildest

way of dealing with the matter ; but to Paul, involving Jason as it did, it was the gravest of possible obstacles to his return, and he describes it as ' Satan hindered us ' (1 Thess. 2¹⁸).

10. *Beræa*, about forty miles from Thessalonica, an ancient Macedonian city which prided itself on its pure blood. Sopater of Beroea is named in 20⁴.

14. *as far as to the sea*, to such a place as Methone, or to the coast after crossing Thessaly. And the Bezan text for v. 15 adds ' but he passed by Thessaly, for he was prevented from proclaiming the word to them '. It seems to have been left open where he should go ; perhaps he hoped at first to return to Thessalonica by sea, but found that he must leave Macedonia altogether ; so he is escorted to Athens, and sends back word when he has arrived.

15. Silas and Timothy, in Acts, rejoin him at Corinth (18⁵). But in 1 Thessalonians 3^{1, 2} we find that Timothy had rejoined him at Athens, and had then been sent to Thessalonica to gather news of the situation there. And if Silas and Timothy did follow ' with all speed ', the journey would not have taken so long as to make them miss Paul at Athens. In 2 Corinthians 1¹⁹ Silas and Timothy are named as having joined with Paul in founding the Corinthian church, so possibly Silas also rejoined Paul at Athens and was sent to Philippi, with which at this time Paul had frequent communication (Phil. 4¹⁵).

16. *Athens* was no longer the leading, nor the best, school of philosophy. Its studies had become frivolous and empty. But its fame still drew the gilded youth of the Empire. Paul's stay at Athens may have lasted days or even weeks ; 1 Thessalonians seems to show that his exit from Thessalonica had caused him great depression.

17. He began in the synagogues, but also appeared, as a kind of strolling philosopher, in the *agora*. The method of public discussion, which had been Socrates', was characteristic of Athenian life.

18. The Stoics and Epicureans were not the only, nor the oldest, philosophical schools at Athens, but they were probably at present the most numerous and influential. But the remarks quoted show nothing specially characteristic of their doctrines.

babbler (Gr. *σπερμολόγος*), *lit.* ' seed-picker ', and so a slang phrase for one who picked up droppings from loaded carts. It would mean a man with a smattering of second-hand ideas.

strange gods, the same accusation as had been made against Socrates.

21. True enough, and suits the Macedonian dislike of Athens, if Luke was of Philippian connexion.

22. *the Areopagus*. This court had now a kind of general charge in matters of education and religion, and perhaps a vaguely defined control over the public lecturers. This incident is an inquiry and not a piece of criminal procedure; and it may have been due to an effort of the recognized lecturers to force a new rival, whose teaching seemed unsettling, to pass a quasi-official test. The whole tone of the speech is that of the marketplace; it is popular in style and argument; probably the inquiry took place in the *Stoa basilica*, the court of the *archon basileus*, and, according to Athenian custom, a crowd of all sorts would be listening. This is a better view than to suppose that Paul was taken into the quietude of 'Mars' Hill', north of the Agora, to give a rhetorical display (*epideixis*).¹ V. 22, compared with v. 33, seems to imply that the Areopagus here is the court, not the hill.

Paul's speech is so unlike his usual tone that it cannot be Luke's invention, though no doubt his report is but a summary of its general line. Paul begins with the commonplaces of ancient philosophy against idolatry, though he warms them with a noble and generous universalism, and the speech follows the main ideas of 'natural theology', dealing with the nature of God and the anticipation of judgement. This last thought leads him on to the specifically Christian conclusion; Jesus has been ordained to be judge of the world, and His Resurrection is the guarantee of His position as such.

The situation was of a special nature, and Paul could not be indifferent to the influence of the *genius loci*. The speech is a call to knowledge; he summons the Athenian philosophers from the superstitions which were all that the cloudy monotheism of philosophic speculation allowed men to possess for purposes of religious practice, to a knowledge based on a definite revelation, which speaks directly to the fact of sin.

At the time the speech seems to have produced little effect. The mental soil in Athens was uncongenial for any, even a moderate, invitation to re-think ultimate principles. We hear of no church at Athens. Paul passed on to Corinth a deeply disappointed man; 1 Corinthians 2^{1, 2} looks like a confession that he had made an experiment in 'wisdom' which had proved a failure; and his constant severity as to 'the wisdom of the world' bears significant marks of having personal experience to

¹ Cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, *ad loc.*

give a barb to his feelings. But, none the less, the speech is noteworthy as the first attempt at a Christian philosophy, in terms capable of commending it to the Greek world, which grafts the Christian doctrine of Judgement and the Resurrection on to the theism of philosophy. Though it seems to have failed at the time, it gives the first step in all that process of philosophizing which marked much Christian thinking of the second and later centuries, and which ultimately established Christianity as the dominant feature in the intellectual system of the world. (A notable treatment of the speech from this point of view is to be found in Hort's *The Way, the Truth, and the Life*, p. 63 f.)

superstitious. Gr. δεισιδαιμονεστέρους is more courteous, though it probably had in Paul's mouth an ironical flavour; 'addicted to the worship of divinities' might render it.

23. *To an unknown God* (or 'the unknown God'). The Greek has no article). This is our only evidence for such an inscription in the singular. But

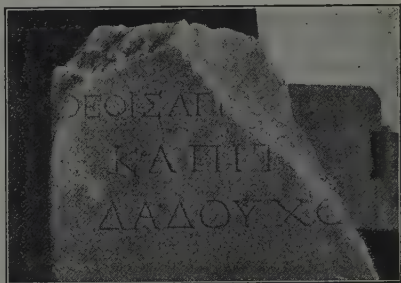
Pausanias (I. 1, 4) noticed altars to gods 'who are called unknown' on his way from Phalerum to Athens, and another at Olympia. Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.* iv. 3) mentions altars at Athens 'to the unknown deities' (δαιμόνων). And an altar of the second century has been found at Pergamum dedicated 'to the unknown gods' (Θεοῖς ἀγν[ώστοις]).

26. *of one.* The Bezan and later MSS. add 'blood'; the unity of human nature was taught by the Stoics.

28. The quotation is from the Stoic poet Aratus, of Soli in Cilicia, Paul's native country. It would be a stock quotation. It is interesting to note that a Greek poet was known to an educated Jew of Tarsus, and may have been used in his education.

30. Previous ignorance is excused; but now judgement is at hand, and the Judge is known.

32. *the resurrection of the dead*: better 'a resurrection of dead men'.



THE INSCRIPTION
From the Altar at Pergamum

Some would regard him as a 'mere enthusiast'; and his doctrines of retribution hereafter and bodily resurrection would be incredible to Stoics and Epicureans alike; but others seem to have been more struck with his sincerity. We need not think their 'We will hear thee again' to have been mere indifference.

34. *Damaris*. The name suggests a foreigner. As no respectable Athenian woman would have so demeaned herself as to be in such a public crowd, she may have been one of the class of cultivated *Hetairae*.

and others. But the general atmosphere of cultured self-satisfaction was obviously entirely uncongenial; and no solid effect seems to have been produced; at any rate we hear of no church at Athens.

XVIII. 1. We are not told why he left Athens; the story ends abruptly. But Corinth was clearly a better centre. It was a great seaport and the seat of the Roman proconsul (since A.D. 44. Before that, since A.D. 15, Achaia had been united to Macedonia and governed by a *propraetor*); its population was very mixed, and included many Jews; the city was a byword for luxury and vice.

2. The date of the edict is A.D. 49-50 (in the ninth year of Claudius, according to Orosius). Suetonius (*Claudius*, c. 25) tells us that it was due to Jewish disturbances instigated by 'Chrestus'; probably this refers to unrest in the Jewish quarter, in reaction against Christian preaching by evangelists unknown to us (though Chrestus may have been an actual Jewish revolutionary in Rome). The edict proved impracticable, owing to the numbers of the Jews in Rome (so Dio Cassius tells us, 60. 6). Let us note that in 19²¹ Paul announces his wish to visit Rome; the wish may have matured under the influence of his association with Aquila and Priscilla. We are not told if they were already Christians, but probably they were. The Bezan text reads in v. 3 'Paul was known to Aquila, because he was of the same race and trade'. Luke calls the woman Priscilla; in Romans 16³ she appears as Prisca. The use of the diminutive suggests actual recollection. We do not know why in Romans and here (vv. 18, 26) Priscilla is mentioned first. Perhaps she was of higher rank than her husband; Prisca is a good old Roman family name.

4. Perhaps an editorial insertion. 1 Cor. 2³ suggests that Paul was weak in health and depressed in spirits at this time. And v. 5 here may mean that his work did not begin till Silas and Timothy joined him, though the imperfect (*συνείχετο*) might equally mean that he had already warmed to his work. But, before their arrival, he must have been preoccupied with thoughts

about Macedonia, and expecting that at any moment he might be able to return there. But now, though return was still impossible, good news from Thessalonica had come (1 Thess. 3⁶). The two letters to the Thessalonians were written during the early part of his stay at Corinth and are thus, with the probable exception of Galatians, the earliest extant Pauline Epistles. 2 Cor. 11^{8, 9} shows that he received financial help from Macedonia, while he was at Corinth.



THE THIRD VOYAGE OF SAINT PAUL

5. *was constrained by*, or 'absorbed in'. A special intensity of preaching seems indicated.

6. A renewed renunciation of the synagogue. The shaking out of his raiment would be a particularly exasperating action (cf. Neh. 5¹³), as also the fact that he not only went to the Gentiles directly, but also removed from the house of the Jew Aquila to that of a Gentile immediately adjoining the synagogue.

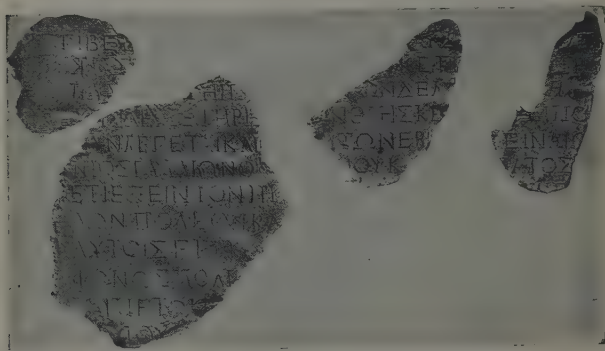
7. *Titus Justus*. Oldest MSS. 'Titius Justus'. Titius was the name of a Roman *gens*. His *praenomen* may have been Gaius (cf. Rom. 16²³, 1 Cor. 1¹⁴). He was probably a Roman *colonus* rather than a Greek, and was a 'God-fearer'.

8. *Crispus*. Cf. 1 Cor. 1¹⁴.

11. So the attack did not come at once.

12. *Gallio* was a man of high culture, uncle of the poet Lucan and brother of Seneca, who calls him '*dulcis*' = 'sweet', a good testimonial to his character. An inscription found at Delphi in 1905 preserves a letter of Claudius to Delphi (dated 51/52) which mentions Gallio as proconsul of Achaia; thus he must have entered on his proconsulate soon after midsummer of A.D. 51. Achaia was governed by a proconsul from 27 B.C. to A.D. 15, and from A.D. 44 onwards.

13. The accusation, very vaguely worded, is again that Christianity is a *religio illicita*. Gallio's conclusion is clearly the



THE GALLIO INSCRIPTION from Delphi

result of a series of inquiries, and exhibits discrimination rather than indifference. Luke records the incident as another sign of Roman official friendliness to Christianity.

17. *Sosthenes* must have succeeded Crispus as chief man in the synagogue. We are not told who beat him, though the Bezan text has 'the Greeks', and other MSS. 'the Jews'. Probably it was the former, taking advantage of Gallio's snub to the Jews, and the Bezan text adds 'and Gallio feigned not to see', i.e. he connived at the action. The reading 'the Jews' probably crept in because of the mention of a Christian *Sosthenes* in 1 Corinthians 1¹.

18. No church organization at Corinth is mentioned; we cannot believe that none was formed; in 1 Corinthians 16^{15, 16} 'the house of Stephanas' seems to be in a position of respon-

sibility. But the tone of that letter seems to imply a state of things at Corinth in which 'popular' opinion, rather than official authority, was most influential. Cf. 1 Cor. 5⁴, 6¹. The Corinthian church appears in 1 Corinthians as honeycombed with partisanship and litigiousness, as palliating flagrant immorality and open irreverence, and as in hopeless disorder through a riotous indulgence in the use of 'spiritual' gifts such as that of tongues, which renounced all discipline or control of prophetic utterances in the public gatherings of the church. In 2 Corinthians 10-13, which may be a fragment of a second letter, otherwise lost, incorporated into Paul's third letter to Corinth, we see that Paul had to face something like an open rebellion against his authority (fomented by Judaizing Christians), which scrupled at no personal accusation against him. But the rest of that letter is in quieter strain, and may be a third letter, written after the situation had been dealt with successfully.

18¹⁸-19²⁰ is a set of stories, in no close relation to one another, mostly connected with Ephesus. No reason is given for Paul's return to Syria. As far as the grammar goes, it might be Aquila who polled (not 'shaved' as in Acts 21²⁴) his head, but the mention of Aquila's vow would be pointless. The vow (in gratitude for some escape from danger) was a Jewish act (cf. Num. 6 for the Nazirite vow); the usual way to redeem it was to offer the hair grown in the interval, which was normally a month. On embarking at Cenchrea Paul would feel that he was within thirty days of fulfilling his vow.

19. We find Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus in v. 26. The preaching is only in passing, during an interval, perhaps caused by shipping delays. No organized church was at present founded, at least by Paul, outside the synagogue; but there may already have been some Christians at Ephesus. Cf. 18²⁷ note.

21. The Bezan text adds 'but bade them farewell, saying, I must by all means keep this feast that cometh in Jerusalem'. The feast would probably be the Passover. This reading may be based on correct tradition; but Paul's vow fixed the time for his arrival.

22. Probably the church at Jerusalem, where he could redeem his vow. But some take it of the church at Caesarea, and the Bezan text for 19¹ (q.v.) denies that he went to Jerusalem now. But could a journey from Caesarea to Antioch be described as a 'going-down'? In Greek you usually 'go down' from the centre to a coast-town. The whole narrative, however, is strangely curt. Probably he spent the winter at Antioch, and

went west, when the roads opened in spring. Perhaps he experienced some criticism in Jerusalem on this visit, and on his next journey he set on foot in the Gentile churches the collection for the 'poor saints' at Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16¹) in order to remove Jewish Christian prejudice.

XVIII²³-XXI¹⁶. PAUL IN ASIA. IMPENDING CRISIS AT JERUSALEM

XVIII. 23. *the region of Galatia and Phrygia.* A very similar phrase to that in 16⁶, and much the same route is followed at first, but on this occasion Paul fulfils his wish to reach Ephesus. His time in these parts cannot have been very long, if his promised return to Ephesus was not to be delayed.

24. The importance of Apollos to Luke lies partly in his personality, and in his entrance as a new actor into the contest with Judaism; but, if we remember that an Apollos-party and a Paul-party existed at Corinth in opposition to each other (1 Cor. 1¹²), we may surmise that Luke would wish to show that Apollos had needed to be set right by Paul's friends on so important a subject as baptism, and that his success was due to Pauline instruction and to his adoption of Pauline methods.

Apollos seems to have been a 'learned' or 'eloquent' Jew of Alexandria (the great home at present of philosophic Judaism, with a strong tincture of Hellenistic ways of thought and learning), who had come under John the Baptist's influence, and perhaps had heard of Jesus as the indicated Messiah, but did not know that the Messianic salvation was actually available in the gift of the Spirit; i.e. he had a gospel without the Church. Christianity may in some form have reached Alexandria by now, through the preaching of unknown disciples; but, if so, it was probably still rudimentary and not definitely connected with Church life. Or Apollos may have come into contact with some such elementary type of Christianity during his travels. But the whole story is vaguely told, and Luke probably had only indefinite information to go on. Acts 19¹⁻⁷ seems to suggest that a strange type of early Christianity, out of relation to the main current of Church teaching, existed at Ephesus, which knew more of John the Baptist than of Jesus. Some scholars have seen in the existence of this John Baptist party at Ephesus a clue to the reason for the strong assertion of Our Lord's position as against John the Baptist in the opening of the fourth Gospel (which, we may remember, probably proceeded from Ephesus).

26. Something, not fervour, but insight, seemed to be lacking

in Apollos' message. The Bezan text adds 'there were some Corinthians living at Ephesus, and when they heard him, they urged him to go with them to their city, and on his agreeing the Ephesians wrote to the brethren at Corinth to receive the man'.

27. Something is missing in the story. We are not told how there came to be 'brethren' at Ephesus, for Paul had only preached there in passing, and no formation of a church of Ephesus has been recorded. The end of the verse should probably run 'he helped through grace', (*Gr.* 'through the grace', i.e. in him) 'those who had believed'.

28. *Jesus was the Christ*, or 'the Christ was Jesus'; the same as Paul's preaching in 18⁵. But 1 Corinthians makes plain, what Acts omits, that Apollos' preaching was very different from Paul's, if only in style. A party in Apollos' name was formed at Corinth, and we find Apollos at Ephesus two or three years later, and unwilling at that time to return to Corinth (1 Cor. 16¹²).

XIX. 1. The story now brings Paul to Ephesus; but clearly his movements were not fully known. The phrase 'the upper country' would denote the inland regions. The Bezan text reads 'when Paul wished to follow his own plan and travel to Jerusalem, the Spirit bade him to return to Asia, and he went through the upper parts . . .', thus making his visit now to Ephesus the result of a divine permission cancelling the previous prohibition. The mention of a prohibited visit to Jerusalem is out of accord with the record in 18²², and points to the possibility of some historical confusion as to Paul's movements at present. It has been noted that the style here shows again a more Hebraic strain, and suggests that Luke derived his information from Jewish oral tradition, probably through Aquila and Priscilla.

disciples, of Jesus, according to the regular usage in Acts. But they had not heard of Christian baptism or the gift of the Spirit. Clearly the story is meant to show the inadequacy of John's teaching. But we could have wished for more details in the anecdote. No mention is made of a synagogue; and how could these twelve have escaped Aquila's notice, and yet come to Paul's before he went to the synagogue?

2. Clearly something was missing in these men; apparently their discipleship was lacking in fervour, as Apollos' had been lacking in insight, and no manifestation of spiritual gifts appeared in them. The question and answer explain this; 'whether the Holy Ghost was given' should be 'whether there is any Holy Spirit' (available); the Bezan text has 'whether any are receiving the Holy Spirit'.

Of course they may have known of the Holy Spirit, from the Old Testament (though the phrase only occurs three times in it). But they did not know of any special outpouring actually available for men in the present.

3. *Into John's baptism.* Not 'into John's name'.

4. The difference could be thus expressed. John's Baptism was one of Repentance and Hope; it pointed on to an expected Messiah, and called men to prepare; but it admitted to no fellowship, in which men could live the righteous life. Christian Baptism was of Repentance and Faith; it declared that the Messiah had come, and gave His name; and it called men into the fellowship of believers in Him, as 'the Way' in which the Messianic salvation could be actually enjoyed.

6. We are not told that Paul baptized them himself; but he may have done so, though it would be contrary to his usual custom (1 Cor. 1¹⁴⁻¹⁷); we do not hear elsewhere of his laying his hands on newly baptized converts. The Bezan text reads 'they spake with other tongues, and had knowledge in themselves so that they interpreted them to themselves, but some also prophesied'. Anyhow, the spiritual signs that had been lacking in them now appeared.

9. *the school of Tyrannus*, i.e. a lecture-room, perhaps in some gymnasium, for lectures and recitations. The Bezan text adds 'from the fifth to the tenth hour', i.e. after the usual business-hours, when the lecture-room would be disengaged.

10. During these two years 1 Corinthians was written; from it (16^{5, 8}) and 2 Cor. 1^{15, 16}, we see that Paul's stay at Ephesus was prolonged more than he had at first intended, and that his plans for a subsequent journey to Macedonia and Corinth were altered more than once, probably owing to his lengthened stay at Ephesus.

Asia, i.e. the Roman province, of which Ephesus was the capital. It was the greatest province, as Ephesus was the greatest city, that Paul had yet visited, and was the centre of Hellenism and contained many great cities besides Ephesus. Ephesus was a 'free city' with its own *ecclesia*, or city-assembly. During this time, the churches of Laodicea, Colossae, and Hierapolis must have been founded, though Paul did not himself go there (Col. 2¹), and probably the seven churches of the Apocalypse. In 1 Corinthians 16¹⁹ Paul sends greetings from 'the churches of Asia'. Paul must have had many subordinate helpers at this time (Timothy appears in the opening of Colossians); he could not have done all the preaching by himself.

11. In Romans 15^{18, 19}, 2 Cor. 12¹² Paul lays claim to the possession of supernatural powers. Luke is obviously interested in such 'signs', but he regards them as only secondary products of Paul's work, the primary result being recorded in v. 10.

13. We have already noted Luke's interest in reputed encounters between Christianity and heathen sorcery; and this in fact was probably a very important matter, in the rank exuberance of crass spiritualism that then filled the East and overflowed into Rome. Of this particular story we do not know the source, nor to what extent it is reliable.

Many of the Jews had become addicted to magical studies, and these men thought they had discovered a new Name of special power, to use in their incantations.

14. No chief priest of the name of Sceva is known. It may mean that he belonged to the high-priestly class, and perhaps was a leader in the synagogue.

16. *both of them*. Gr. ἀμφότεροι, used in the Koiné (see Appendix) meaning 'all'. The story is valuable as throwing light upon the popular belief (which Luke shared) regarding the contest between the Christian 'spirit' and other spirits.

18. Apparently, then, even some of the Christians had continued such practices after their conversion.

19. The books would contain magical rituals and formulae, often called 'Ephesian letters'; Ephesus was a centre of magical superstition. The calculation of price (about £2,000) is a characteristic Oriental touch.

21. *in the spirit*, i.e. by inspiration. On Paul's changes of plan at this time cf. v. 10 note. In Romans 11^{11, 12}, 15^{24, 28} his projected visit to Rome is treated as a passing call on his way to Spain. The Epistle to the Romans shows that the church at Rome was already large and important; tradition says that Peter had already visited Rome, perhaps via Corinth, which would account for the Cephas-party at Corinth in 1 Corinthians 1¹². But cf. Acts 12¹⁷ note. In any case the glamour of Rome would attract Paul, and his ideas of Church statesmanship would induce him to visit it. Cf. Introd. II, where is noted the significance of the fact that Paul consistently worked in the great centres of Graeco-Roman life, as if he contemplated something like a Christian Church of the Empire as the goal of his efforts.

22. *Erastus*, if he is the same man, is mentioned in Romans 16²³, 2 Tim. 4²⁰.

23. This story shows first-rate information and is full of life and probability. In 1 Corinthians 15³², 16⁹ (cf. Acts 20¹⁹ where

it is ascribed to Jewish plots) we see that Paul had plenty of experience at Ephesus of vulgar opposition, which he symbolically describes as 'fighting with beasts', and this may only have been the climax of it.

24. The *shrines* would be small replicas of the statue in its temple, sold as mementoes of travel or votive offerings; they would be made of terra-cotta, marble, or silver, to suit the various resources of various pilgrims.

25. The meeting would probably be held in the hall of the guild.

27. *Artemis*. Not the Greek goddess, but the Greek name for the nature-deity of fertility, the 'Great Mother', worshipped all over Asia Minor.

28. '*Great Artemis of the Ephesians*' would be a common formula of prayer; it is found in inscriptions and as a formula of invocation.



'ARTEMIS' on a coin
of Ephesus

29. The *theatre* at Ephesus was a huge excavated place, capable of holding a great crowd, and often used for assemblies of the local *Dêmos*.

Aristarchus came from Thessalonica (we hear of him in Acts 20⁴, 27², Col. 4¹⁰, Philem. 24). *Gaius* is called a Macedonian here, but the plural *Μακεδόνας* ('Macedonians') might easily have crept in through the following *συνεκεδήμους* ('travel-companions'), in place of a singular *Μακεδόνα*, referring only to *Aristarchus*. In 20⁴ we hear of a *Gaius* of Derbe, in Romans 16²³,

1 Cor. 1¹⁴ of a *Gaius* who is a Corinthian, and may be Titius Justus (cf. 18⁷ note). But, of course, the name was as common as John in England.

30. *unto the people*, the *dêmos*. It was an irregular gathering of the popular assembly. 2 Cor. 1⁸, 4⁹ may refer to this danger; an excited Ionian mob was no light peril.

31. *chief officers of Asia*. Gr. '*Asiarchs*'. In each province delegates from the various cities formed a 'common council' to manage common provincial business, and in particular to preside over games and festivals, especially in connexion with the cult of Rome and the Emperor. Their president was called 'ruler of the province' (*Asiarch*, *Galatarch*, &c.); but Asia, with all its rich cities, may have had more than one, or perhaps they retained the title after their office expired, and formed a sort of college. If the great quinquennial festival of 'the Common Council of Asia' or the annual festival of *Artemis* was due, this

would be an explanation both of their presence in Ephesus (for most of them had probably held priesthoods of Artemis or of other city deities) and of Demetrius' special grievance at the loss of trade. Luke in recording this incident shows that to the educated classes Paul appeared as a good specimen of a moral and religious teacher, and that official policy was favourable to Christianity. The intervention of the Asiarchs gives evidence that Paul had attained an influential position in Asia.

33. *Alexander*; who was he? Luke assumes that he was well known; he might be 'the coppersmith' of 2 Tim. 4¹⁴. The Jews plainly were afraid that the uproar might turn into an anti-Jewish demonstration; and the multitude (v. 34), if they heard that 'Paul the Jew' was the object of the tumult, would be quite capable of mixing up an anti-Christian and an anti-Jewish riot.

35. After shouting 'Great Artemis' for two hours, they would be tired, and to get quiet was more possible. The town-clerk would be a great official of the city council, and be closely in relation with the court of the proconsul. His speech is very clever, and typically Greek; it sounds in v. 37 like a defence, in almost Thucydidean style, of Christianity against the calumnies of the populace.

temple-keeper (νεωκόρος), 'temple-sweeper' or 'sacristan' = practically, 'devotee'. Such a title of honour was granted by the Roman Senate in connexion with the Imperial cult. A coin from Ephesus shows the city as possessing four Temple Wardenships, of Artemis and three Emperors. Note the close relationship between the Imperial cult and the worship of Artemis as goddess of the Province.

the image from Jupiter (τοῦ διοπετοῦς). A block of wood, carved roughly in the upper part into the shape of a woman covered with paps to represent fertility. Her temple of Ephesus was one of the wonders of the world; the relics are now in the British Museum, and a sculptured drum from the base of a column witnesses to the size and magnificence of the building.

37. Romans 2²² shows that Jews were likely to be charged with robbing temples. An Ephesian decree gives a list of such offences as liable to penalty.

38. *the courts are open* (ἀγοραῖν ἄγονται = *lit.* 'court-days are kept'). This is the Roman *conventus* or Assizes, presided over by the proconsul, which tried cases too serious to be dealt with by the city-magistrates. The proconsul of Asia had been poisoned at the end of A.D. 54 (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 1), and his successor took some time in

arriving; hence perhaps the general plural 'proconsuls', and perhaps too the reason why such a serious riot was not sooner stopped.

39. *about other matters*, περὶ ἑτέρων, so most MSS.; but the best have περαιτέρω = 'further'.

the regular assembly (τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ), probably better 'the duly constituted assembly', in which any special resolution would have to be moved if the matter was not one for criminal procedure. This was not such an assembly, and so could not pass any resolution, and the town-clerk says that, there being nothing to justify it, the Romans might treat the concourse as a riot (στάσις) and punish the city for it. The local *ecclesia* had its regular, and could have its extraordinary, meetings; but the Roman authorities tended to discourage all extraordinary meetings, unless they called them themselves, and could prohibit the holding of any. The term for a regular meeting was ἡ νόμιμος ἐκκλησία. The adjective ἐννομος here would cover both regular and extraordinary meetings, so long as they were properly called and sanctioned.¹

40. The Greek text here of the best MSS. is very awkward, and the R.V. only makes the best of it; *lit.* it should be 'there being no cause, touching which we shall not be able . . .' (περὶ οὐ οὐ). Probably the inferior MSS. are right, which leave out οὐ as a ditto-graph from οὐ, and so give 'there being no cause, touching which we shall be able. . . .'

XX. 1. Paul's only course was to leave the city; to stay on would be too provocative, and probably he was advised to go by his influential friends.

Acts tells us nothing as to the trouble which had arisen in Corinth. But from 2 Cor. 2¹², 7⁵⁻⁷ we find that on leaving Ephesus, he stopped at Troas (probably to trans-ship, and he might have to wait for a passage), and was too dispirited and ill to make use of his opportunities of preaching there (cf. 2 Cor. 1⁸, 4^{7f.}). He sent on Titus (who is never mentioned in Acts; a strange fact, which has been explained by the conjecture that he was Luke himself, or a relative of his) to Corinth to deal with the trouble, and decided to wait for his return at Troas, but found that he could not do so; he went on into Macedonia, and met him there. In Macedonia he wrote 2 Corinthians. Of all this story of intensity of feeling and discouragement Acts tells us nothing, because it all had relation to the Corinthian rebellion at the instigation of Judaizing Christian emissaries, and Acts omits

¹ Cf. Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, viii.

nearly all such traces of disagreement within the Church after Acts 15; also because Luke is not writing a biography.

2. *Greece*. Here 'Hellas', the Greek name for most of the Roman province of Achaia.

3. It was during this three months at Corinth that he wrote Romans. Perhaps also he travelled elsewhere (he speaks of Illyricum in Romans 15¹⁹). Much of his time, however, was spent in completing his collection of alms for the church at Jerusalem (cf. Rom. 15²⁶, 1 Cor. 16¹⁻⁴, 2 Cor. 8). It is strange that this collection, which Paul in his Epistles regards as so important, and which he must have meant as an evidence of the loyalty of Gentile Christianity to Jerusalem, is nowhere mentioned in Acts except incidentally in 24¹⁷. Luke cannot have been ignorant of it, and it seems as if to mention it would have fitted in very well with his purpose of exhibiting Paul's goodwill to Jewish Christianity. Perhaps he omits it as being something which was so familiar to everybody that it needed no mention, or perhaps on looking back he realized that it had failed in its object. Cf. 21¹⁷ note.

Paul's original plan must have been to sail in a pilgrim-ship, to Palestine, probably for the Passover. But a crowded ship would give an easy occasion for the plotters; so he changes his plan, and adopts the longer route through Macedonia, which made it impossible for him to reach Jerusalem for the Passover, which he spent therefore at Philippi.

4. *as far as Asia* should surely be omitted, as in some good MSS. It makes no sense, especially as these were probably the delegates of the various churches in charge of the alms for Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16³, 2 Cor. 8¹⁸⁻²²). Alternatively we can conjecture that Sopater alone went as far as Asia, i.e. to Troas, and then went home, perhaps not being a delegate; his place may have been taken by Luke (if 2 Cor. 8¹⁸, 19 refers to him; and the 'We' recurs here in v. 5). Tychicus we hear of in Ephesians 6²¹, Col. 4⁷, 2 Tim. 4¹², Titus 3¹², Trophimus in Acts 21²⁹, 2 Tim. 4²⁰.

5. The best MSS. read 'these came' (i.e. to Troas), 'and were waiting . . .', i.e. Troas had been appointed as a rendezvous for the party. The 'We' reappears here (cf. 17¹ note), and continues till v. 15, resuming in 21¹⁻¹⁷, and then from 27¹⁻²⁸¹⁶. But it can hardly be doubted that Luke was present more or less continuously from now until Paul's arrival at Rome, and that the absence of the 'We' is merely due to the fact that there was no cause for him to include the mention of his presence; though of course he may have been away occasionally during the period.

The Bezan text in v. 5 reads 'he wished to set sail for Syria, but the Spirit bade him return through Macedonia; therefore when he was about to go forth. . . .'

6. This would be about A.D. 55-6.

7. The meeting seems to be for the Common Meal or *Agapé*, with the Eucharistic commemoration, though we do not know whether the transposition of the Eucharist before the *Agapé* had yet come into vogue. (Cf. 2⁴² note.) The gathering was at night, the Sunday beginning on Saturday evening, and was in a private house.

Besides the *Agapé* and Eucharist we see, in 1 Corinthians 14 and elsewhere, references to a Christian meeting which was open to others besides believers. The proceedings (obviously copied from precedents of the synagogue services) consisted of (1) Prayer and Praise, which could be either in ordinary language or in 'a tongue' (in the latter case an interpreter was needed). No fixed forms of prayer are mentioned, but certain stereotyped formulae of benediction may have been in use, such as those which are found in Paul's Epistles. There may have been some more or less fixed forms of praise, as (1 Cor. 14¹⁶) the congregation knew when to say 'Amen'. Combined utterances of praise in hymn or psalm were also known (Acts 16²⁵, Eph. 5¹⁹, Col. 3¹⁶), and fragments of early hymns may be imbedded in the Pauline Epistles (e.g. Rom. 13^{11, 12}, Eph. 5¹⁴, 1 Tim. 3¹⁶, 2 Tim. 2¹¹⁻¹³). (2) A reading from Scripture in the LXX version of the Old Testament, with which Paul seems, in his Epistles, to assume that his converts are familiar. (3) Some kind of oral teaching, dealing primarily, perhaps, with the facts of Jesus' life and His sayings, and then with the fundamentals of Christian doctrine.

In Acts 2⁴⁶ we gather that the meetings were held every day alike, but this would soon prove impossible to ordinary people, and Sunday seems to have become the chief Christian day of meeting, to distinguish it from the Jewish Sabbath, at least in Pauline churches (cf. 1 Cor. 16², Rev. 1¹⁰); later writers account for its choice on the ground of its being the day of the Resurrection.

8. The mention of lights may be due to the vulgar heathen calumny that the Christians indulged in obscene practices at their meetings, after the lights had been put out.

9. Luke evidently thought that this was a miraculous resurrection; but he has told the story so honestly that it is susceptible of a different interpretation. Paul acts as Elijah in 1 Kings 17²¹ and Elisha in 2 Kings 4³⁴.

11. The Bezan text reads 'and while they were bidding farewell, they brought. . .'. Luke and the rest had gone on ahead to the ship, as Paul was going by land to Assos, and the sea journey would take longer. Paul stayed as long as he could.

12. There is a harsh change of subject here; those who brought the lad were not the same as those who were comforted.

13. Assos is twelve miles from Troas by a hilly road.

15. The Bezan text adds after Samos 'and, having tarried at Trogyllium', which, whether it is the correct reading or not, is probably true. The sailing was by day, the wind falling at night in these quarters.

16. The haste to be at Jerusalem by Pentecost seems no longer to be necessary in 21⁴. Perhaps 21^{1, 2} explains this, as it seems to imply that they caught up on their time by running a straight course to Patara, and finding another ship there at once.

17. To go from Miletus to Ephesus, he would have to sail to Priene, and then go by road twenty-five miles across the mountains to Ephesus. And the circumstances of his departure from Ephesus may have made him reluctant to visit it again now. But if he had to send a messenger to Ephesus, and the Ephesian elders had to be gathered and brought to Miletus, Paul must have stayed there at least three days. The delay at Miletus may have been due to the ship's course. We have not been told of the appointment of elders at Ephesus, but it is taken for granted. Cf. 14²³ note.

18. The speech must be a genuine summary of things which Paul said on the occasion. It is vividly personal in tone, and proclaims its own substantial authenticity. It is mainly an appeal to his own past work and example, together with anticipations of future plans and difficulties, and an earnest charge to the elders to zeal and sincerity in the discharge of their duties. As a pastoral exhortation to Christian officials, it has an intense homiletic interest, besides its historical interest as a revelation of the kind of work which they had to do and the kind of qualities needed for it.

19. This is Paul's picture of himself, and we find similar touches in his Epistles. The narrative in Acts has told us nothing of 'tears'; it pictures Paul as the man who is always equal to a public emergency; Paul himself knows more of the private depressions and discouragements, which he had to live through.

20. *from house to house*, referring to the private house-gatherings, as distinct from the public lectures in the school of Tyrannus.

22. *bound in the spirit*; not 'bound by the Holy Spirit'. We

see clear signs of his doubt as to the reception awaiting him at Jerusalem in Romans 15^{30, 31}.

23. We have heard nothing of such prophecies; many are given later in cap. 21. Perhaps Luke's knowledge of what happened afterwards has unconsciously coloured his report of the speech. But it may be that Paul's past experiences were a sufficient augury of future probabilities.

24. The Greek here is awkward in the best MSS., which the R.V. translates. The Bezan text has 'none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto me'.

25. Some think that this foreboding was justified, and that Luke would not have left it in the speech if it had been falsified; and that consequently the theory, based on phrases in 2 Timothy, that Paul was released after his two years' detention in Rome, and did some more missionary travel to Ephesus and other places, and was martyred later on a new accusation, is false. We may grant that the theory is not fully proved; but it seems exceedingly probable (cf. 28³⁰ note). And Paul here may simply be stating his plans, which, as we see in Romans 15²⁴, were now for work in the West, and would involve leaving the work in the East in the charge of his representatives.

26. He would have been blood-guilty in his own eyes if he had withheld the truth which he had to teach. A great principle of pastoral responsibility.

28. This looks as if it might begin a second discourse to the elders specially, the first having been more general in its address. These elders are called 'overseers', the term later stereotyped for 'bishops', and obviously have to teach, as part of their functions. With the charge here cf. 1 Peter 5^{2f.}. The doctrine of the Atonement, which figures so largely in Paul's letters, is clearly indicated at this point. The language here seems to mean that God purchased the Church with His own blood, which is certainly a strange and startling phrase; and in many MSS. we find 'the Lord' instead of 'God'. But the Greek (*διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου*) may mean 'by the blood which is His own' i.e. that of His Son; and *υἱοῦ* ('Son') may even have fallen out after *ἰδίου*.

29. A reference to the Judaizing teachers, of whose activities Paul had already had experience.

30. In 1 Timothy 1³⁻⁷ we see that this foreboding of the rise of local heresies in the church at Ephesus has come true. Perhaps Luke added this phrase from his later knowledge; but it does not seem unnatural that Paul should anticipate such a development.

31. *three years*, a general phrase for a period which, according to the narrative in Acts, lasted two years and three months at least, and probably longer.

33. This seems to have been a common taunt against Paul, and he frequently emphasizes in his letters the fact that he worked for his own living, and did not follow the usual course of teachers in living on the gifts of his converts.

35. The beatitude is not recorded in the Gospels. It may have been an authentic saying of Jesus, or it may be Paul's own summary of many words of Jesus.

XXI. 1. The Bezan text adds 'Myra' after Patara; cf. 27⁵.

3. They would sight the south-west corner of Cyprus.

4. The ship must have been a large one, if it took seven days to unlade her. Clearly the church at Tyre was small, as they had to seek out the members of it. Luke now begins to record predictions, which anticipate the coming crisis at Jerusalem. The scene of the departure is poignant in feeling, as is the later scene at Caesarea (v. 13).

7. *Ptolemais* (the modern Acre) is twenty miles by ship from Tyre; the thirty miles from Ptolemais to Caesarea were probably traversed by land.

8. *Philip* (cf. 8⁴⁰) is here called by the general title of 'evangelist'. We are not told what his daughters prophesied on this occasion. It is quite in Luke's custom to record instances of the importance of women. The verse seems to imply something like an order of 'virgins'. It has been conjectured that Acts 8 (and Luke's Gospel) owed much to this visit and the conversation that must have marked it.

10. *Agabus* (cf. 11²⁸) acts symbolically, like an Old Testament prophet. Luke once more emphasizes the danger lying before Paul.

15. *took up our baggage*, or 'we equipped (animals)'. They were cutting the time fine, and it would not be healthy for them to walk the sixty-four miles from Caesarea to Jerusalem in two days. So they arranged for conveyances to take them, perhaps the forty miles to Lydda, from which they would walk the rest.

16. The Greek may mean 'bring us to him with whom we might lodge, Mnason. . .'. The Bezan text has 'when we came to a certain village, we found quarters with Mnason, and departing thence, we came to Jerusalem'. Mnason's name indicates that he was a Hellenist, perhaps one of those who were scattered from Jerusalem after Stephen's death. He was an 'ancient disciple'; it is now about twenty-five years since the death of Stephen.

XXI¹⁷-XXVI³². PAUL AND THE JEWS

XXI. 17. Luke tells the story of the crisis at Jerusalem, or rather of selected scenes in that story, with very full detail. He must have been present in person at many of them; but he also clearly regards this section as one of great importance for his history and his purpose. And we can see why; thus (1) it shows the way in which circumstances (divinely overruled, as Luke held) brought Paul at last to Rome; (2) it records three instances of decisions by Roman officials in Paul's favour, and throughout we see that the Imperial officers are his only safeguard from the Jews; (3) it provides one more, and a crowning, instance of the Jewish rejection of Paul's gospel; (4) it gives occasion for a systematic apology for Paul's mission, and for Christianity in general as the proper heir of Judaism. Thus this section combines all the main *motifs* of Acts.

the brethren received us gladly. A perfectly general phrase, implying nothing more than a good welcome. The next verse describes an official audience. James, as in Acts 15, presides over a gathering of elders; the Apostles, or at least the chief of them, are absent, perhaps on missionary work. It is surprising that nothing is said about the presenting of the subvention from the Gentile churches; it may be implied in the phrase 'he saluted them'. But Luke is anxious to get on to the main story of the crisis and how it arose. And the gift had so little effect on the feelings of the Jewish Christians towards Paul, that Luke may have, on looking back, regarded it as a well-meant failure.

20. *thousands*; Gr. 'tens of thousands'; a natural exaggeration, but successful propagandism among the Jews is indicated; also, the city would be full of Jews up for Pentecost, and these might include Judaizing Christians from the provinces. But it is clear that the Christian church of Jerusalem was conspicuous for Jewish orthodoxy.

21. The Twelve were in a delicate position; painful reports of Paul's teaching were in circulation; and the stir caused by these may have occasioned the predictions of vv. 4, 11. Paul's journey was really bold to rashness.

24. We are not told the nature of the vow, but if it had been for thirty days it had still seven to run (cf. 'the seven days' in v. 27). Paul was not necessarily to take the vow himself, but at least certain ritual purifications on his part would be necessary in order that he should join them, and he may have had a thank-offering on his own account to offer (cf. 24¹⁷). He was to pay the expense of the offerings which these men

would have to present ; such a way of helping needy Jews was a recognized work of piety, and we are told (Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 6. 1) that Herod Agrippa I had used this as a method of winning popularity. We may note that the condition here suggests that Paul by now had money of his own ; he was able to keep himself during a two years' imprisonment at Caesarea, and then to hire a house for two years in Rome, and to face the heavy expense of an appeal to the Supreme Court. We do not know what had caused the change in his circumstances since the time when he had to work for his living and his resources needed to be supplemented by gifts from Philippi (cf. 17³ note).

25. The Bezan text reads 'as touching the Gentiles which have believed, they have nothing to say against thee, for we wrote'. This may be the right connexion. For Paul to do a Jewish thing would not offend them, if they remembered the terms of the Decree of Acts 15, which only exempted Gentiles from the necessity of observing the ceremonial law of Judaism. The text of the Decree in this verse varies, as in 15²⁰ (cf. Essay after 15³⁵).

26. We hear nothing more of the leaders of the Jerusalem church. Their expedient failed, and they seem to have left Paul to his fate.

27. Paul was probably known by sight to few Jews of Jerusalem. But the Jews of Asia recognized him.

28. The profanation is here described as actual. In 24⁶ the Jews only accuse him of intended profanation, and herein lay the weakness of their case. Rome would treat intended or attempted profanation as unimportant, so long as order was restored ; but it allowed death to be inflicted, even on a Roman citizen, for actual profanation of the Temple. The fact is that, if the Jews of Jerusalem wanted to get rid of Paul, this riot, stirred up by the Jews of Asia, forced their hands, and they had to impeach him before he had done anything overt to substantiate a capital charge against him.

31. *the chief captain* : *Gr. chiliarch*, 'military tribune'. The garrison consisted of a cohort of 600 men with some cavalry ; their barracks were in the Tower of Antonia at the north-west corner of the Temple area, with which it was connected by two flights of steps ; the soldiers were always kept ready at the times of Jewish feasts for fear of a riot. The tribune's name Lysias is Greek. His other name Claudius is Roman, and suggests that he purchased his freedom in the reign of Claudius, when free rights were sold broadcast by Messalina and the Emperor's favourite freedmen.

35. The description here is so vivid that it seems to proclaim an eyewitness.

38. Josephus tells us that in Felix's time an Egyptian Jew led 30,000 (in another place he says 400) men out to the Mount of Olives by promises of supernatural wonders, that his followers were cut to pieces and dispersed, but the leader escaped.

the Assassins, the Sicarii or 'dagger-men'. A section of Jews who arose in Felix's time, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8), and formed themselves into a kind of secret society for the purpose of patriotic assassination.

39. *of no mean city.* Gr. οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως recalls Eurip. *Ion* 8 ἔστιν γὰρ οὐκ ἄσημος Ἑλλήνων πόλις of Athens.

40. It would not be unnatural for the tribune to seize any chance of restoring order; and Paul might well hope to be able to pacify the Jews by a recital of the incident which was the crowning experience of his life. The repetition, here and in cap. 26, of the narrative of Paul's conversion, is a strong evidence of authenticity; and certainly the whole scene pulsates with life and truth.

XXII. 1. The speech is simple. It is a declaration of his Jewish orthodoxy, of the difficulty with which he had been converted to Christian belief, and of the divine overruling which had caused him, when the Jews rejected his preaching, to preach to the Gentiles.

3. *even as ye all are this day.* Note the magnanimity which concedes that their action is out of zeal for God. Would Luke have invented this?

6. The differences between this account and that in cap. 9 have been already considered in the notes on that chapter. It was obviously a tale often told. This seems the earlier and simpler version.

about noon. A new detail, repeated in 26¹³.

8. *Jesus the Nazoraean.* Cf. 2²² note.

9. Cf. 9⁷ note.

12. The description of Ananias is obviously given as showing that an orthodox Jew had been instrumental in his baptism. It is strange that Ananias' vision is not mentioned, as it would have been very much in point here, as another instance that God Himself was at work in Paul's conversion. But in his present situation Paul had no time for even helpful incidentals. Still it may be that the story of Ananias' vision (at least in some details) arises out of the Church's reflection on the divine guidance manifested in his action.

14. *the Righteous One*. Cf. 3¹² note, for this Messianic title. Ananias' words here are a compilation of the sense of those which he heard in his vision in cap. 9 and of those that in that chapter he speaks to Paul.

15. *unto all men*, hinting, but at present only hinting, the possibility of work among the Gentiles.

17. The mention that he was praying in the Temple is to show the Jews that he was still a loyal Jew. Nothing of this vision is told us in cap. 9, but there was no special reason there why it should have been. Here it is cited to show that the commission to Gentile work was divinely given.

19. These words seem both to excuse the Jews for their obstinacy, and to suggest that Paul would have preached to the Jews but for this experience. In the Epistles we find no sign of this attitude ; but by then the nature of his work was finally fixed. Again, in Galatians 1 the visit to Jerusalem is treated as unimportant, whilst here it is the occasion of his call to Gentile work. But, as to that, we are moving here in regions of spiritual experience, and we cannot apply hard-and-fast canons of criticism ; and in Galatians 1 Paul is simply stating that on his visits to Jerusalem he had received nothing from 'man' ; he had already in that chapter declared that he was an apostle through Jesus Christ.

21. The definite mention of the Gentiles sets the mob ablaze ; for the head and front of Paul's offence was that he had taught the equality of Jew and Gentile in the kingdom of God.

23. *threw off*, or 'tossed about'. An act of blind fury, like that of casting dust into the air.

25. Perhaps 'as they stretched him forward for' (i. e. 'to receive') 'the thongs' (of the scourge). But it may mean 'tricing him up with thongs'.

uncondemned. Cf. 16³⁷ note.

30. *loosed*. Either then he was still confined, though in slighter bonds ; and after all he was accused of sedition ; or it means merely 'he took him out of custody'.

The trial before the Sanhedrin is a section with some difficulties ; it does not advance the story, and the tribune could have learnt what he wanted to know without calling the Sanhedrin together. But the tribune (especially in the absence of the procurator) may have wanted to keep the Jews in good temper by consulting the city-Senate ; his main interest was to give no excuse for a renewed breach of the peace. In any case the meeting is informal, and plainly Luke was not present. The whole proceedings are

summarily told. The meeting cannot have begun with the address by the accused, and v. 6 implies a great deal more discussion, during which Paul perceived the existence of divided views amongst the members.

XXIII. 1. Paul's statement here merely means that he has been a loyal Jew. He has lived as a good citizen (*πεπολίτευμαι*) in the sight of God, the Sovereign of the Jews.

2. *Ananias* became high priest in A.D. 48 on the nomination of Herod Agrippa II. Josephus shows us that he was an unscrupulous man; he was deposed about 58 and later assassinated by the Zealots. His order to strike Paul is consistent with the character of tyrannous cruelty that Josephus attributes to the Sadducean priesthood.

3. *whited wall*, a proverbial expression. The stones of sepulchres were whitened to preserve the passer-by from the defilement of touching them.

5. The Greek cannot mean a kind of apology, 'I forgot myself and did not treat him as I should'; it can only mean 'I did not know that he was high priest'. Various explanations have been offered, e.g. (1) that Paul might never have seen him, since he became high priest, or (2) that he might not be in his official dress, if this was an informal gathering, especially if the tribune was presiding. Either of these is possible, but the narrative is too condensed to be entirely satisfactory in details. Paul's quotation is from Exod. 22²⁸.

6. To Paul this was the assertion of a vital opinion, that as a Christian he was the truest of Jews. And let us note that it was no subterfuge on his part; the charge against him was that he was subverting the authority of Moses among the Dispersed Jews; and he would best turn that charge if he could get them to believe that, fundamentally, he was only applying a principle which was essentially that of Pharisaism, viz. the principle of the Messianic hope, and the Resurrection as a condition of it. They might dislike the application, but they would be less vehement against him, if they saw that his principle was the same as theirs. Paul makes the same attempt in 26⁶⁻⁸. The Jewish expectation of the Age to Come was bound up with the belief in a Resurrection, so that the good who had died might share in the blessings of that Age. (Cf. Essay at end of cap. 26.)

The Greek is 'touching hope and resurrection' (no articles); the two almost go together, though 'hope' is the wider phrase, and includes 'resurrection' as an element.

7. The better MSS. read 'and whilst he was so speaking', which implies that he said more.

8. On Sadducees and Pharisees cf. 4¹ note. The account here given of their views is probably true of the general tendencies of the two parties, though the Sadducees perhaps mainly reacted against the extravagant doctrines of angels held by the Pharisees.

9. *and what if*. Gr. simply 'if' with an anacoluthon, which some MSS. supply by adding 'let us not fight against God'.

10. *to go down* from the dais into the hall. Probably the meeting was being held in one of the rooms of the Temple area, certainly not in the tower of Antonia.

11. So Paul may already have been anticipating his appeal to Caesar and consequent chance of visiting Rome, which was now his main aspiration.

12. In the vivid and detailed narrative which now follows, let us note that the Jews now propose what the tribune had already done. The whole series of incidents must have been so exciting and hurried that some uncertainty in recollection is easily understood, and it is consequently hard for us to disentangle the exact relation to each other of the various incidents in the whole narrative.

16. The marginal rendering here is very probable 'heard . . . having come in upon them, and he entered. . . .' This is the only knowledge we have of Paul's connexions, and it suggests that his sister was married in high-priestly circles. Possibly her husband might hate Paul's views, and yet not want to see him murdered; or the boy may have acted on his own account.

20. *thou wouldest*: in v. 15 it is to be on the pretence that they want to inquire, and that could be the only reason for such a request. μέλλον (agreeing with συνέδριον) in place of μέλλον, would give that sense.

23. It seems a very large convoy, but perhaps the tribune was really alarmed, and wanted to leave no opening for misadventure. The Bezan text adds 'for he was afraid that the Jews might seize and slay Paul, and he would afterwards be accused of having taken money'. Such an accusation was very probable, and had been brought against Cumanus, Felix's predecessor, in regard to another incident. The 'spearmen' would be native auxiliaries.

26. *most excellent* (κράτιστος), as in the address to Theophilus 1¹, to Felix 24³, to Festus 26²⁵. Lysias calls Felix by the general title 'governor' and not the specific name of his office 'procurator'. The letter may be a composition of Luke's, but he may have heard it read in court, and got the gist of it. Such a letter, acquainting a superior with the *prima facie* facts of the case, was known as an *elogium*.

27. Lysias is disingenuous here. Luke would scarcely have invented this.

28. One of our best MSS. omits 'I brought him down to the council', adding 'and desiring to know . . .' to the previous sentence.

29. Lysias had clearly been making inquiries, but we are not told how; so too he adds that he has ordered the accusers to go down to Caesarea.

31. *Antipatris*, more than half-way from Jerusalem to Caesarea; the city had been refounded by Herod the Great.

34. Cilicia went with Syria, the legate of which was Felix's superior, so Felix could try the cause as his deputy, since Paul came from a district in the jurisdiction of the legate. Felix was procurator of Judaea from 52 till he was recalled, perhaps about A.D. 56 or 58; but he had held a position as military prefect in Palestine before, which explains the 'many years' of 24¹⁰. The present date would be two years before his recall. Felix was the brother of the freedman Pallas, who was a favourite of the Emperor, and Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 54) gives him a very bad character. He seems to have been noted for lust and cruelty, and he had been unsparing of armed force and wholesale crucifixions in keeping the Jews in order; his oppression eventually caused his recall.

35. Nothing further is known of a praetorium or palace of Herod at Caesarea.

XXIV. 2. The speech of Tertullus the 'advocate' appeals to the Roman desire for peace in the provinces, which Rome would foster even at the expense of injustice to individuals. In sum, he says 'eliminate Paul and you will get order, for riots follow him wherever he goes'. The speech begins with an elaborate flourish of compliment on Felix's 'forethought' and care to promote peace; certainly he had done much to suppress brigandage.

3. *most excellent*: cf. 1¹ note.

5. *the sect* (*αἵρεσις*; the word from which we derive 'heresy') of the Nazoraeans. 'Nazoraeans' in the plural only here, and used in contempt.

6. *assayed*. Cf. 21²⁸ note. Some MSS. add 'and we would have judged him according to our law. But the chief captain Lysias came, and with great violence took him away out of our hands, commanding his accusers to come before thee.'

10. Paul's compliment is far more sober and restrained. His speech is an assertion that there is no proof of the case against him, and that the whole matter is simply due to the fact that

he is in their eyes unorthodox, i.e. he is accused only 'about questions of their law', as Lysias had said.

11. The *twelve days* are the seven of 21²⁷ (not all completed) plus the five of 24¹. But there must have been a few more, as we can see from 21^{17, 18, 26, 23¹¹}.

12. *stirring up a crowd*: Gr. 'making a stopping (*ἐπίστασιν*) 'of a crowd'.

14. Once more the idea that Christianity is the true Judaism, and to outward eyes, at Jerusalem at least, it looked like a sect within Judaism. The main purpose of Acts is to show how it became something else; but at Jerusalem it was a fair presentation of the facts to heathen eyes.

15. Jewish belief varied as to the fate of wicked Israelites, even when it accepted the resurrection of the just. But Daniel 12² gives the general view, which regarded the unjust as rising for punishment, even if that meant annihilation.

16. *Herein*, i.e. 'in this faith'.

17. *alms to my nation*. There is nothing insincere in this. The Jewish Christians (for whom the alms from the Gentile churches were intended) were still connected with the Jews, and were, in Paul's eyes, the spiritual part of Israel. The word 'offerings' implies something beyond the 'alms', perhaps thank-offerings of Paul himself.

18. *amidst which*, i.e. 'in presenting which'.

19. The anacoluthon at the end of this verse is characteristically Pauline in its abruptness.

21. Presumably ironical, 'unless it be a wrong-doing, and they reckon it as such, to profess a belief in the resurrection'. Most of the accusers present were Sadducees, to whom the very principle of a resurrection was objectionable, but they would not dare to make belief in it a 'wrong-doing' (*ἀδικημα*).

22. *the Way* as in 9², 24¹⁴. Felix may have derived his knowledge from his wife Drusilla; or the words may mean 'noting most carefully'. Felix defers the matter; he sees that there is no case, but he does not want to annoy the Jews. Lysias, so far as we know, never comes down, but the waiting for him was a mere pretext. Paul is detained, but not severely.

24. *Felix came* (*παράγενόμενος*); it suggests that he had been away, and the emphatic 'Drusilla, his own wife' suggests that he may just have married her. She plays no part in the story, but the Bezan text reads 'who asked to see Paul, and hear the word. Being willing, therefore, to satisfy her, he sent. . . .' Drusilla was the third daughter of the Herod Agrippa of Acts 12¹. Felix had recently

seduced her from her husband Azizus, King of Emesa. (Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 7.) If Paul's preaching on this occasion was on the need for moral reformation, we can see the pointedness of it and the reasons for Felix's fears.

26. So Paul must have been rich, or seemed so. A man in Felix's position would not expect a small bribe.

27. Felix was recalled in disgrace by Nero on the petition of the Jews (Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 8), so he would need to gain favour with them. The Bezan text reads 'Felix left Paul in bonds on account of Drusilla'. We may note how cursorily Luke passes over the story of these two years; in the story of the extension of the Gospel it was a mere 'marking-time'. We do not know of any letters that Paul must have written in this time, though some attribute Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon to this period. Some also suggest that Luke collected the material for his Gospel during these two years.

XXV. 1. Festus was procurator from Felix's recall till about A.D. 61-2, and died in office. We know nothing more about him, but he seems to have been one of the better type of Roman governors.

having come into the province, or perhaps 'having taken over the province'. Judaea was strictly part of the province of Syria. His first business would be to clear up any arrears from his predecessor's time.

4. Festus treats the Jews curtly, but humours them.

5. *which are of power*, i.e. the proper authorities.

7. To judge by vv. 8 and 19, the charges were mainly relative to disrespect for the law and the Temple, with apparently a charge of treason against Caesar.

9. Festus sees that there is no case (v. 19), but wishes to please the Jews by shifting the *venue* to Jerusalem. He could not, however, submit a Roman citizen to a provincial tribunal, if the man refused.

10. *I am standing*, because he is before Caesar's representative. Paul knew that for him to go to Jerusalem was to court murder.

12. *the council*, i.e. his assessors, probably his chief officers.

13. *Agrippa* is the son of Agrippa I, the Herod of 12¹. He is the last of the Herods, and was seventeen years old when his father died. He was made King of Chalcis in A.D. 48, received the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias in A.D. 53, to which some cities in Galilee and Peraea were later added. He had been made patron of the Temple, with the right to nominate the high priest, and was at the moment on bad terms with the Sadducees, and had deposed Ananias from the high priesthood. Bernice was his sister, and sister of Drusilla.

14. The private conversation here recorded must come from a source or an informant well acquainted with Roman law.

16. Such a principle is found in the Roman Digests. We note that Festus colours his action somewhat in his own favour.

19. This sounds more like the discussion in the Sanhedrin than the charges of v. 8; but Festus may have received fuller information.

20. Translate 'I, as I knew little about such disputes'. The reason attributed to Festus in v. 9 is less creditable, and may be somewhat biased; though possibly both considerations influenced him.

21. *the emperor, lit. 'the Augustus'.*

22. *could wish*, or 'was wishing', which is only a courteous way of saying 'I wish'.

23. This is scarcely a trial at all, but rather a semi-official reception from which Festus hoped to gain some data to incorporate in the report (*litterae dimissoriae*), which he would have to send to the Supreme Court, with the accused.

24. The Bezan text reads 'both at Jerusalem and here, that I should deliver him up to them for torture without any defence. But I could not deliver him up because of the orders which we have from the Augustus. But if any one was willing to accuse him, I said that he should follow me to Caesarea where he was in custody. And when they had come, they cried out that his life should be taken away. But when I had heard both sides, I found that in no respect was he worthy of death. But when I said, Wilt thou be judged with them in Jerusalem? he appealed to Caesar. Of whom I have. . . .'

26. *my lord*: Gr. 'the lord'. The emperors, from Caligula onwards, accepted the title of *Dominus*, Gr. *κύριος*.

'After examination had' sounds like a quasi-judicial inquiry. But it is no more, and could not affect Paul's fate, except as it might give Festus' report a favourable colour or the reverse.

XXVI. 1. Agrippa, by courtesy, calls on Paul to speak. Paul's speech is in elegant Greek, and gives the impression of a carefully prepared oration. It may be Luke's own composition, but its line of argument is much the same as Paul has been represented as using before in this section. We note that he says he is accused for preaching the resurrection, whereas it was for saying that the Law is unnecessary to salvation. But the subtle argument which connects the two would seem natural to Paul. (Cf. 23⁶ note.) The supersession of the Law was to him a consequence of the fulfilment of the Messianic hope in the Risen Jesus. The Jews looked for a Messiah; Paul said Jesus

is the Messiah, as His resurrection proves. The Pharisees believed in a resurrection, Paul said Jesus is risen. To Paul his difference from the Pharisees was one not so much of principles, as of facts and their application.

4. *among mine own nation*, i.e. at Tarsus.

5. His antecedents would not bias him in favour of Christianity, which yet fulfils the national hope, in which he was reared.

6. *the hope*, i.e. the Messianic hope.

7. *by the Jews*: more emphatic, 'by Jews'! The singular thing is that Jews are accusing him on such a charge.

8. *with you*: plural (παρ' ὑμῖν), so Paul is now addressing the audience in general. The Resurrection of Jesus is the guarantee of his Messiahship. He is answering the tacit objection 'But Jesus is dead', with the reply 'He is not; He is risen; and why not?'

9. *Jesus the Nazoraean*, again. Cf. 2²² note.

10. A general statement; he could not have a vote in foreign synagogues, and we have no reason for believing that he was a member of the Sanhedrin. 'Saints' is used as in 9¹³.

11. *I persecuted*: *lit.* 'I was following'.

12. *Whereupon*: *lit.* 'in which purpose', 'under these conditions'.

14. *it is hard for thee to kick against the goad*; a new item, representing perhaps the fruit of Paul's own later reflections. It is a Greek and Latin proverb, but not found in Hebrew.

16. Here Paul simply summarizes all that had been then said to him at the time, and all that had followed from kindred revelations; the idea of a literal reproduction of the words heard on the occasion dissolves into a broader summary of his experiences, adapted to his Gentile hearers.

17. *delivering thee*: perhaps better 'choosing thee' out of Jews and Gentiles, to go to both (εἰς οὓς = 'to whom' probably does not refer to the Gentiles alone). The quotations are from Jer. 1⁷, Isa. 35⁵, 42⁷, 18.

20. *and throughout all the country of Judaea*. Unless this refers to his journeys from Antioch or Caesarea to Jerusalem, it is contrary to all other authorities, contradicts Gal. 1²², and goes beyond Acts itself. And the Greek is solecistic (τοῖς ἐν Δαμασκῷ καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις, πᾶσαν τε τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπήγγελλον). A suggested emendation (by Blass) which would make good grammar and right sense, reads, after Ἱεροσολύμοις, εἰς πᾶσαν χώραν Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ = 'Unto every country, both to Jews and. . .'. The εἰς might have been omitted, because of the preceding οἱς.

21. It is clear that his preaching to Jews and Gentiles is the cause of the attack on him ; at least it was his preaching of equality between them.

22. Here we have it clear ; Christianity is Judaism perfected and fulfilled.

23. The literal sense is ' how he, as first from among a resurrection of the dead, should proclaim light ', i. e. He is, by His own resurrection, qualified to proclaim light on the hereafter. The idea has parallels in 1 Corinthians 15²⁰, Colossians 1¹⁸, 2 Timothy 1¹⁰.

25. *most excellent* : the same word as in 1¹.

26. This has not been a ' hole-and-corner ' business.

27. The personal appeal to Agrippa would possibly annoy him ; he may well have often been scoffed at in Roman society for being a Jew, and here he is appealed to, before an audience of Roman notables, as one to whom the idea of a resurrection cannot be incredible.

28. *Lit.* ' in a little you persuade me to make a Christian '. One early MS. reads *πειθεῖ* (for *πειθεῖς*), and gives ' you are persuaded to make me ', which is the meaning at least, if it is not the original reading. The sentence is a polite dismissal of the subject, it exhibits no sort of real earnestness. The use of ' Christian ' (instead of the Palestinian ' Nazoraean ') is not strange from a Hellenized King in a Gentile gathering ; and Paul's whole speech had dwelt on the Christ, so that Agrippa might naturally say ' with little art thou persuading me to be a Christ-man '. In the Armenian Catena the Syrian father Ephraim leaves out this word and gives ' You are persuading me to a small thing '.

29. The dignity of Paul's reply is obvious and impressive.

31. Here we have Agrippa's deliberate judgement, coinciding with that of Lysias, Felix, and Festus. It would help to make Festus' report favourable to the accused. There is surely no ground for finding in the phrase of v. 32¹ a hint that Caesar's judgement would be less favourable, and that Paul's trial ended in his condemnation.

ESSAY D. PAUL AND JUDAISM

The picture of Paul in Acts, is, so far as *personal qualities* are concerned, the twin of that which we can draw for ourselves from the Pauline Epistles. We find, or can infer, in both the same qualities of heart and head ; the vehement temper, the genius for friendship and the power of winning and feeling deep affection, the educated tone of polished courtesy, the strength

¹ As is done by Vernon Bartlet in the *Century Bible Commentary*.

and courage and fiery energy, all those qualities which make him to us so intensely human a personality, united with the intellectual quickness and adaptability which enables him to be equal to varied situations, the originativeness of thought and purpose, the skill in organization and administration, which make him the most brilliant and outstanding figure of the apostolic age.

In the two pictures the *general conditions of his career* are set forth with some variations of emphasis. Thus in the Epistles the opposition of the Judaizing Christians is more persistent and virulent, and Paul's relations with his churches are more chequered, and less continuously harmonious, than they appear to be in Acts. And, as we have noted, while Acts seems to make the Resurrection the chief burden of Paul's preaching, the Epistles seem to give that place to the Crucifixion. But these are differences of emphasis rather than substance, and are explicable by the fact that Luke was not Paul, and that Luke's purpose in Acts is wholly different from Paul's in his Epistles. In general, the same story is told in both, a story of perseverance and triumph in the face of ceaseless opposition, misconception, and controversy.

But, in studying Paul's *attitude to the Jewish religion*, we seem at first sight to detect a clear inconsistency between Acts and the Epistles. Briefly, in the latter he seems to be far more anti-Jewish than in the former. We cannot easily see the Paul of Galatians making the declaration of Acts 23⁶. And, after reading the Epistles, in which Paul consistently represents himself as the apostle of the Gentiles by divine appointment and personal desire, it is a surprise to find him pictured in Acts as one who regularly went to the Jews first, and only to the Gentiles when the Jews rejected him, as one who seems anxious to conciliate Jewish feeling, as one who was perfectly ready to conform to Jewish observance under certain circumstances.

This point is of interest and importance, both for our understanding of Paul and for our judgement on Acts. Some scholars have found the inconsistency so flagrant that they have been driven to suppose that Acts, as it stands, cannot be the work of a companion of Paul, but that it is a compilation, made perhaps about A.D. 100, in which some genuine Lukan materials (mainly the 'We' sections) have been combined with a much larger amount of material drawn from other sources, and all edited with the purpose of minimizing the degree of opposition between Paul and Judaistic Christianity. Some general consideration of this theory will be found in the Introduction to this book

I (f.) ; but the contradiction which it alleges to exist between Acts and the Epistles regarding Paul's relations to Judaism is a point that needs special examination. It is possible, on closer study of the Epistles, to find that the picture of Acts is capable of vindication, and that Acts gives us a generally harmonious background for the Epistles.

Logically, we must agree, only one position was possible for Paul ; viz. that the Mosaic law was superfluous for *any* Christian, i.e. that a non-Jewish Christianity was obligatory. This was, fundamentally and in principle, his attitude ; and this is part of what has ever since been understood as ' Paulinism '.

But, in practice, we find even in the Epistles modifications of this rigorousness. He circumcised Timothy, and possibly Titus (Gal. 2³). He tells us that he was accused of preaching Circumcision, an accusation which could not have been made if he had done nothing whatsoever to give malignity a chance to make it. He declares that the Law is good (Rom. 7⁷⁻¹⁴). These are clear qualifications of his fundamental principle, and call for explanation.

We can see how he would be led to make such concessions. Thus (1) circumstances would compel him. His teaching was perverted by some into an Antinomianism, an entire repudiation of all moral law and discipline, from which his Jewish soul revolted, and he had to meet it by declaring the value of rules for the weak, who needed rules.

(2) Still more, his Jewish prepossessions would influence him. To him the Church was, essentially, the spiritual Israel, the heir of the old Israel, with a circumcision of the heart to take the place of the fleshly rite. In his view, his mental development had been continuous. The essence of Pharisaic ideals was not un-Christian (the declarations in Acts 23⁶, 26⁶⁻⁸ are the entirely sincere expression of this idea) ; all he had done was to give those ideals a Christian application ; he regarded himself as the truest of true Jews, *because* he was a Christian.

This would, in strict logic, imply that the old Israel was to be entirely superseded by the new. But, even in the Epistles where his teaching on the point is most definite, we find that he has not the heart to carry his logical deduction so far. Thus in Romans 9-11 (the crucial passages are 9¹⁻⁵, 10¹⁻⁴, 11¹⁻⁵, 13-26),¹ he still looks forward to a fulfilment some day of God's promises to the Israel after the flesh. There he pictures the Christian Jews as the good olive ; the Gentile Christians are the wild

¹ We must remember that Romans is in some degree Paul's systematic manifesto, whilst Galatians is written with the fire of controversial purpose.

olive ingrafted into the good ; the un-Christian Jews are the stump of the good olive that has been hewn off. Thus the spiritual Israel is rooted in the fleshly Israel, so far as it has become believing. But he hopes for a special future eventually to occur for the fleshly Israel as a whole.

In accordance with this, his own practice and his practical directions bear the form of a compromise. He prided himself on his Jewish descent ; in purely Jewish surroundings or on Jewish soil he lived as a Jew, and conformed to Jewish observances ; to the Jews he became a Jew. But he ate with converted heathen (1 Cor. 9²¹), probably justifying the irregularity to Jews on the ground that the baptism of a Gentile removed the risk of Levitical defilement from such association, he preached the equality of Jew and Gentile in the Kingdom of God, he taught that in Gentile churches Jews must accommodate their practices to suit their Gentile brethren (Gal. 2¹¹). And yet he also says that the whole law continues (1 Cor. 7¹⁸, Gal. 5³). The Jews are to keep the law, not as a way of salvation, but as God's ordained way of life for the Jew, i.e. they are to keep their national peculiarity, against the time when the promise to the fleshly Israel shall be fulfilled ; and, though the Jewish Christians are the weaker brothers of the Gentiles, the Gentiles are therefore bound to consider their prejudices, just because they are weaker.

This, we can see, was a real inconsistency, and we cannot wonder that the apparent sophistry of it angered the Jews. Here was a Jew, who enticed proselytes from Jewish synagogues, and associated, and taught other Jews to associate, with Gentiles ; who claimed Jewish privileges, and yet had largely given up the obligations of the Jewish law. We can see Paul's purpose plainly enough ; he wanted to keep alive the possibility of friendliness between Jew and Gentile within the Church. But we can see also that it was not enough to conciliate the Jews. They could not tolerate his teaching of Gentile equality with Jews in God's sight ; and his behaviour in Gentile cities made him unavoidably suspect at Jerusalem. The Sadducees condemned him as a Christian, the Pharisees condemned him as a latitudinarian Jew, and the Judaizing Christians (faced by the necessity of a mission to the Jews of Palestine) were hardly less suspicious of, or hostile to, him.

In fact, his position was intrinsically ambiguous. He was a Universalist, who wanted to remain a Jew. But Judaism became both theoretically and practically impossible within a Christianity which had become universalistic. We can sym-

pathize with Paul's patriotic reluctance to renounce finally all hopes for his nation as a nation. But we can see also that the hostility of Judaism was the natural result of the concessions that he tried to make to its prejudices. If he had been a thorough-paced renegade, the Jews would have hated him no less, but would have feared him less. As it was, his position was the more dangerous, because at the time it seemed possible. It was possible, because, as we have seen (6⁸, 10¹ notes), in the Jewish Dispersion the Jews had already been in the way of tolerating evasions of the Mosaic law for the practical purpose of being able to associate with Gentiles; and that tradition of accommodation was still living. But, with the fall of Jerusalem and the inflammation of nationalistic feeling by national misfortune, any such accommodation became impossible, and the Jew became an irreconcilable alien in all lands.

Paul's position was possible then and only then; and it did something to tide over the time during which Christianity could assimilate the best elements of Judaism. Without Paul's compromise, Christianity might have become a purely Gentile religion, and all, or much of, the good that it owes to its Jewish heritage (the strong ethical interest, the vigorous idealism with regard to the future, the definite demand for an historical basis for a religious Creed, and an organized system for religious practice) might have been lost in the separation.

The picture in Acts which represents Paul as uniformly conciliatory to Jewish feeling, so long as it will tolerate his work, and as uniformly anxious to keep a place for Jews within the Church, is therefore essentially the same as that which the Epistles present, when they are closely studied. Luke, perhaps, as a Greek, did not fully understand Paul's position. Perhaps nobody did; perhaps Paul hardly did so himself, but acted throughout as a wise opportunist, whose main interest is to preserve the possibility of co-operation, so long as it can be done without the sacrifice of fundamental principle. But the story which Luke tells, and the picture which he gives, of the position that Paul occupied, is one which the Epistles abundantly corroborate. (Cf. the brilliant chapter in Harnack's *Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, cap. ii.)

XXVII¹-XXVIII¹⁶. THE JOURNEY TO ROME

XXVII. 1. This is a complete 'We' section, and bears indisputable marks of being the record of an eyewitness, though through lapse of time some uncertainties of detail may have

crept in. To Luke the interest of the section for his history is (1) that it brings Paul to Rome, (2) that it provides a fine illustration of Paul's personal qualities. We may note also the frequent emphasis on the friendliness of the Roman centurion.

the Augustan band. If this is the name of a regular cohort, it would be one of auxiliaries, as the legionary cohorts were not given names. On the other hand, it seems more likely that legionary officers alone would do such work as Julius here is detailed for. The suggestion is very probable¹ that 'Augustan cohort' (or 'troop of the Emperor') might be a colloquial name



THE JOURNEY TO ROME

for a corps of officers who were kept on detached service for communication between the Emperor and his armies in the provinces. Augustus had probably systematized this arrangement. The officers were commonly called *frumentarii*, and their duties were to attend to commissariat arrangements, to act as couriers, and for conducting prisoners and police purposes. Cf. 28¹⁶ note.

Paul is regarded as in a different position from the other prisoners, and he has Luke with him, and Aristarchus too, though the latter may be merely on his way home; the way in which he is mentioned suggests that he was scarcely one of Paul's company.

¹ Cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, cap. xiv. With regard to the voyage, James Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* is full of interest and an excellent guide.

2. The ship was an Adramyttian coaster, and would be on its way home for the winter, though intending to touch at various ports on its way. Julius took it because there was no ship going direct to Rome, and the season was so late that he could not wait for one. Probably he expected to trans-ship in one of the Asian ports or to go on by land.

4. On the previous journey (21³) they had gone west of Cyprus. This time they kept to the east of it, because of the westerly winds that prevail in the Levant in the summer; all westward-bound ships would do so. Luke's explanation shows



that he was a stranger to the nautical fact that they kept the normal course.

5. *Myra*. Some MSS. add 'in fifteen days', which is probably about true. They would have to hug the coast, and trust to local land-breezes to help them in a westerly direction.

6. From v. 38 we infer that this was a grain-ship on the imperial service of bringing corn to Rome from Egypt, which was the granary of the Empire. *Myra* was one of the great harbours of the Egyptian service. If it was a government ship, the centurion would be the highest officer on board, and so we see him in v. 11 directing the course to be taken.

7. The winds were W. and NW., and they would be afraid of being driven on to the harbourless north coast of Crete. So they go south of it, rounding Salmone, its eastern promontory.

8. *Fair Havens*; still called by the same name; it is about half-way along the southern coast of Crete, and, west of it, the

coast trends to the north and would no longer shelter them from the winds ; so they stayed there a long time, and perhaps visited Lasea, whence the mention of its name.

9. *the Fast*, of the Day of Atonement, near the autumnal equinox, i.e. in the end of September or beginning of October. The sailing season ended on November 11th, but sailing was reckoned dangerous from September 14th.

10. We see a kind of council of officers, to which Paul, as a person of rank and an experienced traveller (he had already been three times shipwrecked 2 Cor. 11²⁵) is invited. The centurion decides, but after consulting not only Paul, but also, of course, the sailing-master and the captain (not 'owner', if this was a government ship). They are anxious to get as far as possible before the sailing season closes. The 'more part' (v. 12) must mean the majority of the council ; but it seems a strange phrase, and it may be an error of Luke's, based simply on Paul's report that the decision had been taken against his advice.

12. *Phœnix*, forty miles on from Fair Havens, if it is the modern Lutro, is said to be the only secure harbour in all winds on the south coast of Crete. But Lutro faces east. Phœnix, according to Luke, faces south-west and north-west ; the Greek 'down the south-west and north-west wind' can mean nothing else than that the arms of the harbour run south-west and north-west and so give shelter from those winds. Either then Luke made a mistake, and we may remember that he never reached Phœnix, or else Phœnix is not Lutro, but may be another harbour, just round a headland west of Lutro, which is still called Phineka, and looks north-west and south-west.¹

13. A south wind would favour their course, but they had to round Cape Matala, six miles west of Fair Havens, and the recollection that they kept 'close in shore' shows that they were doubtful for some time whether they would weather the point.

14. After passing Cape Matala, they would come to an open bay nineteen miles across. The wind Euraquilo is still 'typhonic'; it blows from about ENE. off the Cretan mountains, and would be very dangerous to an ancient ship with one huge sail. Apparently they were not able to slacken sail quickly, so they had to run before it until they came under the lee of Clauda, twenty-three miles to leeward. Here (1) they took in the boat, which had been towed in their wake, and would be waterlogged by now ; Luke mentions this first, possibly because he helped in

¹ Cf. Page's edition of Acts, *ad loc.*

that work (notice 'we'); any passengers could pull at a rope; (2) they passed under-girders (ropes) round the ship to hold the timbers together, because of the strain on the hull due to the wind in the sail; these would probably be passed transversely; to pass them longitudinally sounds like an impossible operation in a storm; (3) 'they lowered the gear' (χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος); this sounds as if it meant 'lowered the main-sail', and drifted under storm-sails; some interpret it as meaning that they lowered a weighted rope to take way off the ship, but can the Greek mean that? Their fear was of being driven on to the quicksands of the African coast; these were far off, but the wind might last long. So they drifted, i.e. with their head to the north, with a low sail to steady them, in which case their course would be a lee-way approximately 8° N. of W., it is said.

18. They would, as often happened to ancient ships, be in danger of foundering through leakage due to the strain on the hull and the waves washing over and battering their starboard side. The freight is thrown overboard (though some is left to act as ballast, v. 38), and then the deck lumber, perhaps the great yard also. Some of the lesser MSS. read 'we' in v. 19, which may be right. The passengers could help in throwing loose articles overboard.

20. The leakage would continue; having no compass, they would be dependent on sun and stars for their course, and none was to be seen; they dare not cut the mast, which alone helped them to work off Africa; they could do nothing but wait to sink.

21. Food would be hard to get in a storm, and the provisions would be largely spoilt. Paul had been cautious before, he now appears to encourage them to confidence. Some say vv. 21-6 and 33-5 are a later insertion, because of this difference in Paul's behaviour, and also because of the reported vision. But the first passage contains the additional information that the crew was starving and weak, and follows well on the description of their spiritlessness in v. 20. It must be a very imperfect appreciation of Paul's character that would lead any one to suspect that he could not be more than merely prudent. And the vision, if supernatural, is wholly probable. On the other hand v. 26 might be a later addition of Luke's own, due to his knowledge of what followed.

27. *to and fro*; this is a landsman's idea; it would be a straight drift. Sailors called the whole eastern Mediterranean 'the Adria'. Their knowledge that 'some land was nearing them' (προσάγειν; this is the literal meaning of the Greek) might come from hearing breakers. One Latin version has 'that land was

resounding', and one MS. reads *προσάχέιν*, so the original reading may be *προσηχέιν* = 'was sounding to them'.

29. They had to choose where to beach the ship. In the dark they could only anchor, and they let out four anchors, so as to have a chance of holding. They anchored from the stern, which was unusual, so as not to swing round facing the wind, as would happen if they anchored from the bows. As it was, they had only to cut the cables, unlash the two great paddles that acted as rudders in the ancient ship, and hoist a foresail (v. 40).

33. *Lit.* 'till it should come to be day'.



35. This cannot reasonably be taken as a Eucharistic meal, but no doubt it exhibited some solemnity.

37. The number 276 sounds unlikely, especially if the crew was small enough to think of escaping in one boat. One of our best MSS. reads 76.

38. This would be the rest of the cargo, thrown out so that the ship might beach higher.

41. They came to a neck of land between two seas. The ship, which drew perhaps eighteen feet, stuck on the mud, the forepart settling on it, while the stern was exposed to the waves. The conditions correspond with St. Paul's Bay at Malta, except that there is no sandy beach in it, but this may have been worn away by the sea. St. Paul's Bay is some considerable distance from the Great Harbour, and so might well be unknown to the sailors (as the place seems to be in this passage), though many

of them must have been in the Great Harbour of Valetta before.

XXVIII. 2. *the barbarians*, i.e. non-Greeks. The Maltese were of Phenician extraction.

3. There are now no poisonous snakes in Malta. Of course there may have been then, but it has been suggested that this snake was the *Coronella austriaca*, a constrictor, looking like a viper, which bites but has no poison fangs. That Luke, and the natives, thought it to be poisonous, is plain.

7. The phrase 'the first of the island', as used in Malta, has been found in inscriptions,¹ though we do not know whether it was a title or a name of compliment. The Greek *Poplius* may be for Publius or Popilius.

8. *healed*. Gr. *ίασατο*. The word for 'were cured' in v. 9 is different (*ἐθεραπεύοντο*) and means 'received medical attention'.

II. If they were wrecked before the middle of November, they would sail in February, which would be early, but perhaps they trusted to the favourable weather. The wind of course must have been southerly. The name 'Dioscuri' or 'Twin brothers' (viz. Castor and Pollux) is recorded, either because it was taken as a good omen, the Dioscuri being the patrons of navigation, or because they heard of the presence of the ship in the harbour, before they actually saw it. No other names of ships are given in Acts.

12. At Syracuse, presumably, the wind fell; hence the delay.*

13. *made a circuit* (*περιελθόντες*), i.e. the wind was not directly favourable, so they had to tack. The reading *περιελόντες* in our two best MSS. gives the meaning 'cast loose', which seems rather pointless. Puteoli was a great harbour, and so it is natural that Christianity should be found there.

14. The Bezan and some inferior MSS. read 'and were consoled, tarrying seven days'. Paul was a prisoner, and could not stay where he liked.

15. Appii Forum is a town forty miles from Rome, Tres Tabernae is ten miles nearer the city. Paul takes this welcome as a good sign; perhaps he was feeling dispirited. But the narrative reads exultantly; Rome was the goal.

16. Why the double record of an arrival at Rome (vv. 14 and 16)? Perhaps the first means an arrival in the *ager Romanus*, and the second an entry into the city itself; but can v. 15 mean anything else than that the brethren 'from thence' came from

¹ C. I. L. x. 7495 'Municipii Mel(itensium) primus omni(um)'. Similarly (in Greek) C. I. G. 5754.

the city itself? Perhaps the double record simply reproduces the feeling of relief that Paul and Luke had, that they are at Rome at last. Some would read the imperfect in v. 14, 'so we were coming to Rome'.

The Bezan text adds in this verse 'the centurion delivered the prisoners to the stratopedarch' ('captain of the camp'). This might mean the prefect of the praetorian guard, which camped outside the walls of the city; but he would be too high an official to receive inferior prisoners; and the praetorians did not act as police, but only took charge of important offenders. We know that in Hadrian's time these courier-officers (the *frumentarii*, cf. 27¹ note) lived on the Coelian Hill in a camp known as the *Castra Peregrinorum*, under command of an officer called the *Princeps Peregrinorum* (this title is actually found here in an old Latin version). Since the system of *frumentarii* was probably instituted by Augustus, the title may date from his time too; and this may be the official here called 'stratopedarch'. They were called *peregrini* ('from abroad') because they all belonged to legions stationed in the provinces.

Paul would be chained lightly by the wrist to his guard.

XXVIII¹⁷⁻³¹. PAUL IN ROME

XXVIII. 17. *chief of the Jews*. This is no technical title; the gathering would probably comprise the elders of the main Jewish synagogues in Rome. Paul's statement is very succinct, and, as it stands, omits many details; thus Claudius Lysias is entirely forgotten. If the section is historical, we can only suppose that a very short summary is given, in which the several stages of the events have been unduly telescoped together.

20. *the Hope of Israel*, i.e. the Messianic hope, with the Resurrection as a condition of its fulfilment.

21. The statement of their ignorance is staggering. There had already been disturbances in the Jewish quarter due to the presence of Christians (cf. 18² note), and from the Epistle to the Romans we can see plainly that a Christian Church, with a strong Jewish element in it, was well established in Rome. Yet here the Jews seem to know very little about Christianity except that it has a bad reputation. And if they had not yet heard of Paul's appeal to Caesar (though that had been allowed seven or eight months ago), can we believe that they had not heard of the riot at Jerusalem and subsequent proceedings? To describe their statement as 'affected ignorance'¹ is surely pointless; why

¹ Cf. Vernon Bartlet, *op. cit.*

should they affect ignorance? We can hardly wonder that many scholars have regarded this whole section as unhistorical, and have considered that the writer simply took the opportunity of Paul's presence in Rome to exhibit a conspicuous instance of Paul's habit of going to the Jews first, and a final instance of their rejection of his Gospel. We may add, further, that v. 30 would follow excellently on v. 16, and that it seems very strange to find no reference to the Christians of Rome, or to Paul's relations with them, after v. 15, in which their presence is so emphatically noted. The whole section seems to treat Rome as if it were virgin soil for Christianity.

On the other hand, it is possible that we are reading too general a declaration of ignorance into the words of vv. 21 and 22. After all, the Jews say no more than that (1) no official report on Paul's case has reached them from Judaea; and (2) that all the hearsay about Christianity, with which they are acquainted, is to its discredit; and they seem to recognize Paul as a leader of the new sect, which does not imply entire ignorance. The reasons why no adverse report had yet reached them from Judaea may be found, either in the delay due to winter, or in the recognition by the Jews at Jerusalem that they had no case (cf. v. 30 note). The absence of reference to the Roman Christians is less surprising to us, when we realize that this interview with the Jews has a bearing on Paul's appeal and on his general relations to Judaism, and that this is Luke's main subject, to which any further notice of the Roman Christians would be irrelevant. It is further possible that the expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius had caused the Roman Church to become predominantly Gentile, and had resulted in a complete divorce from the synagogue.¹ But we may confess that the perplexities of the section, if modified, are not removed.

26. From Isa. 6^o, LXX. This gives the verdict of the Holy Ghost, and provides a real ending to the story of the book.

28. Some (not the best) MSS. add 'and when he had said this, the Jews departed, having much disputing among themselves'; but this is out of place and spoils the climax.

30. *two whole years*. During this time he was in '*libera custodia*', under guard, but in a house which he would himself pay for. Most scholars attribute the writing of Philemon, Colossians, and Ephesians to this period; Philippians was certainly written now. 1 Timothy is ascribed by a few to the two years at Caesarea; but most of those who admit the Pauline

¹ As is suggested in Rackham's commentary.

authorship of the Pastorals (or of parts of them) hold that they were all written either now or after the two years at Rome were over, according to their view of the issue of Paul's trial. In Philippians 1¹², 4²² we read of the success of his preaching, and in Philippians 2²³, 24 we can see that at least a preliminary inquiry had been held, and the issue looked favourable. 2 Timothy, on the other hand, is the testament of a dying man.

The suggestion that Paul was released at the end of the two years has a great deal to say for itself; thus it is impossible to fit the Pastoral Epistles properly into Paul's life in Acts; and though many doubt whether those Epistles, as they stand, are from Paul's pen, most agree that parts of them are his; and these parts include the undeniably genuine Pauline verses at the end of 2 Timothy, which indicate that Paul (near the end of his life, as is clear) had travelled in Asia Minor, and that he was then in a great deal harder imprisonment than anything in Acts 28 implies.¹ Then again we may say that there was no reason why Paul should be condemned by Caesar, even though that Caesar was Nero;² the Christian persecution at Nero's hands had not yet begun, and Nero was still ruling in an exemplary manner; and all Roman officials had pronounced that there was no case against Paul, a fact which we can see for ourselves. Finally, if the Jews meant to press the case against Paul, two years seems an inordinate time for them to have taken about it, even if it involved citing witnesses from various regions, and winning the influence of Poppaea (Nero's mistress whom he married later), on their side to counteract the impression which Festus' report would make.

If the Jews realized that they had no real case, on which to procure Paul's condemnation, the next best thing they could do was to fail to appear. They would thus at least keep Paul shut up for a time, and that was, failing his death, what they most desired. The fact that they had sent no official information to Rome against Paul looks as if they had decided that they could only play the waiting game and delay the case by not appearing themselves.

If the accuser failed to appear, the Crown did not prosecute. How long then would the accused be detained? Obviously he could not be detained for ever. In the third century we know

¹ But cf. Harrison, *Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, where it is maintained that these references can singly be fitted into various situations of Paul's life as depicted in the Acts and Pauline Epistles.

² This is true, even if we assent to Dr. Harrison's (*op. cit.*) arguments about the weakness of the literary evidence for Paul's release.

that, for a capital charge from outside Italy, the period was eighteen months. We also know, from Suetonius and Dio Cassius, that Claudius established some time-limit for the power of a prosecutor to delay the case by absence, though we are not told what period he fixed; but the evidence from the third century makes it very likely that the regulation of Claudius set up a precedent, which continued to be adhered to.

If so, then the 'two years' of Acts 28³⁰ (which need not mean more than 'about two years') would be these eighteen months, to which would be added some time for the legal formalities of Paul's acquittal (through the default of his accusers) and release. We can therefore conjecture that, after his release, he travelled and preached (perhaps in Asia Minor) and organized his churches through delegates, that he was eventually arrested, when the Neronian persecution had reached the provinces, and executed at Rome, some time between A.D. 64 and 68.

31. *the Lord Jesus Christ*. The only case in which this full title is used in Acts. The Bezan text reads 'saying that this is the Christ, Jesus, the Son of God, through whom the whole world is yet to be judged'. Whatever the reading, the phrase is obviously the author's own profession of faith.



SAINT PAUL

From a fourteenth-century French MS.

APPENDIX

LUKE'S STYLE AND VOCABULARY; SELECTED VARIANT READINGS IN THE MSS. OF ACTS.

THE *κοινή*, or common literary language of the Alexandrine Empire, was a modified form of Attic Greek, which in time became diversified by the springing up, in various localities, of various dialectical peculiarities. Among the Jews of the Hellenistic world these variations were mainly in the following directions: (1) the simplification of construction and idiom, and the abandonment of the antithetical and rhetorical form of sentence common in classical Greek, and (2) the contamination of the language with Semitic idioms literally translated into Greek, and the preference for such Greek idioms as most resembled the Semitic. These tendencies are to be explained partly by the uncongeniality of rhetorical art and devices to the Jewish mind; partly they lie in the nature of things, when people habitually use two languages, one native and one acquired; while, among Jews who only spoke Greek, the influence of the Septuagint version of the Hebrew Bible, which was a translation and largely a very literal translation, must have been very powerful in affecting the forms of thought and language.

This, then, is the characteristic language of the New Testament.¹ It is a form of the *κοινή* or post-Alexandrine dialect of Greek, sharing the general modifications which that dialect shows as compared with classical Attic, but exhibiting also extensive peculiarities of its own, due to its passage through minds impregnated with Jewish idiom and the Jewish preference for concreteness of thought and directness of speech.

Among the New Testament writers Luke is remarkable for his Luke's style command of Greek. His Gospel is the most literary of the four, and Acts, of all New Testament books, approaches most nearly to contemporary literary usage. Luke can write a good Greek style, as he shows in the Introductions to the Gospel and Acts, in the letter of Acts 15, and in Paul's speech before Agrippa. The richness of his vocabulary is shown by the large number of words which, in the N. T., occur only in his writings; there are about² 700 such *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα* in the Gospel

¹ Simcox's *The Language of the New Testament* is a short and handy volume dealing in detail with the special features of the New Testament Greek.

² The uncertainty as to the exact figure is due to the existence of various readings both in Luke's writings and in other N. T. books.

and Acts combined, more than half of which occur in Acts alone. Further evidence of his literary quality are: his freedom of construction, e. g. his use of periphrastic tenses (1¹⁴ and often), the variety of his clause connexions by participles, genitives absolute, relative pronouns, adverbs, &c., as frequently as by the Hebrew idioms of co-ordinate sentences strung together by conjunctions; his idiomatic use of the attracted relative, especially after *πᾶς* (1^{1, 22}, 2²², 10³⁰, 22¹⁰, 26²), of the optative in indirect questions, which is found in no other N. T. writer (17¹¹, 21²³, 25¹⁰, also with *ἄν* 5²⁴, 10¹⁷), and of *τοῦ* with the infinitive to express purpose or result (3^{2, 12}, 7¹⁹, 10⁴⁷). Minor features are his constant use of *τε*, his fondness for rare classical and poetical words, and the repeated occurrence of *οὐκ ὀλίγος* (17¹²; eight times in Acts).

And yet the Hebraistic tinge in his style is unmistakable. We cannot say how far his use of Hebraisms is at all conscious and deliberate, and how far it is due to the influence of his sources. It is worth noting that, where his narrative moves in Jewish surroundings, the Hebraistic flavour is stronger than where he is dealing with Gentile scenes; thus the second part of Acts is the most Hellenic section of the N. T. So also we do not know (1) how far his vocabulary was influenced by his constant association with Paul; there are in the N. T. about 100 words (more than half of which are in Acts), which are found only in Luke's and Paul's writings. It is clear (cf. *Intro.*) that Luke was not familiar with Paul's Epistles, or at any rate that he wrote independently of them; but it is also apparent that his language was, to some extent at least, related to that of the Apostle. (2) We do not know how much Luke owed to direct knowledge of the LXX, but probably the debt was substantial, for nearly three-quarters of the *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* in his writings occur in the LXX.

It is clear, however, that Luke's style is fundamentally Greek; it is not the style of a Jew writing Greek. Thus even his Hebraisms are often toned down to an idiom which is not so alien to Greek usage.¹ E. g. Luke 5¹⁷ *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν διδάσκων* is a pure Hebraism. A less harsh variation of the same idiom is seen in Luke 6¹ *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτόν*. All or nearly all traces of Hebraism have vanished in Acts 4⁵ *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον συναχθῆναι αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρχοντας*, 9³ *ἐν δὲ τῇ πορεύεσθαι ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐγγίξιν*, 10²⁵ *ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον*, 21¹ *ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο ἀναχθῆναι ἡμᾶς*, 21⁵ *ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐξαρτίσαι ἡμᾶς*.

But Luke's style is Hebraized Greek. It is fairly certain that he knew Aramaic; perhaps, though this is less certain, he also knew

¹ Cf. Simcox, *The Writers of the New Testament*. See also Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (Harvard, 1919).

Hebrew; but the surroundings of his life will probably explain most of the Hebraistic element which so strongly colours his style and language. His Greek origin and education have given him command of a purer Greek than most of the N. T. writers possess. But the influence of biblical, if not of Hebraic, language is never imperceptible. His Greek is that of a man who has moved mostly in circles where the Jewish form of the *κοινή* has been the dominant dialect.

OTHER PECULIARITIES OF LUKE'S STYLE ILLUSTRATED IN ACTS.

His fondness for compound verbs I^{26} , 3^{18} , $\text{I}\sigma^{19}$, $\text{I}8^{12, 28}$, $2\sigma^{10}$.

$\epsilon\dot{\iota}\pi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\nu$ *πρός* w. accusative $2^{29, 37}$, 4^8 .

His methods of introducing speech in the course of narrative; note the omission of $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\pi\epsilon\nu$ or $\phi\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ in 5^9 , the change from oblique to direct oration in I^4 , $\text{I}4^{22}$, $\text{I}7^3$, and the converse change in $23^{23, 24}$.

$\delta\epsilon$ καί 3^1 , 7 times in Acts.

τis $\epsilon\acute{\xi}$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\acute{\nu}$ $\text{I}5^2$.

$\epsilon\dot{\nu}$ $\tau\omega$ w. infinitive, temporal 2^1 , II^{15} .

$\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ interrogative 5^8 , 7^1 , $\text{I}9^2$.

$\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ 8^{22} .

$\epsilon\dot{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\omega\tau\alpha$, $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ II^{22} , $\text{I}7^{20}$.

Frequent use of $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ $\text{I}^{14, 22}$, 2^{14} , 3^4 .

καὶ $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ temporal I^{10} .

κατὰ τὸ $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\omega\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ and cognates $\text{I}7^2$.

καὶ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ 8^{13} , 22^{20} .

The following lists have been carefully compiled from those in Thayer's *New Testament Lexicon*, Simcox's *The Writers of the New Testament*, the introductions to Plummer's edition of Luke's Gospel (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*), and to Rackham's edition of the Acts (*Westminster Comm.*). At first sight the lists look like a mere wilderness of words; and of course many instances are insignificant. But it is impossible to make any really profitable selection from them. It is only when the whole list is before a student that he has the materials from which to derive the full impression which the phenomena of vocabulary are calculated to produce.

WORDS WHICH, IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, OCCUR ONLY IN LUKE'S WRITINGS.¹

Words both in Gospel and Acts.

$\alpha\dot{\iota}\tau\text{ιον}$ $\text{I}9^{40}$

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\delta\epsilon\text{ικ}\nu\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\text{ι}$ I^{25}

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\zeta\eta\tau\epsilon\dot{\iota}\nu$ II^{28}

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\text{ιν}$ 9^{40}

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ II^{10}

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\text{ιν}$ 2I^3

¹ The references in each case are to Acts.

ἀνευρίσκειν 21⁴
 ἀντειπεῖν 4¹⁴
 ἀξιούν c. infin. 28²²
 ἀπ' αἰῶνος 3²¹
 ἀπογραφὴ 5³⁷
 ἀποδέχεσθαι 2⁴¹
 ἀποτινάσσειν 28⁵
 ἄπτειν 28²
 αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ 16¹⁸
 ἄχρι c. genit. temporal 1²
 βουλή τοῦ θεοῦ 13³⁶
 δεσμά 16²⁶
 διαπορεῖν 2¹², 10¹⁷
 διατηρεῖν 15²⁹
 διελεῖν ἕως 11¹⁹
 διῴσταναι 27²⁸
 διῴσχυρίζεσθαι 12¹⁵
 διοδεύειν 17¹
 δούλη 2¹⁸
 ἐγένετο δέ freq.
 ἐναντίον 8³²
 ἐνεδρεύειν 23²¹
 ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις 6¹
 ἐξῆς 25¹⁷, 27¹⁸
 ἐπαίρειν τὴν φωνήν 14¹¹
 ἐπιβιβάζειν 23²⁴
 ἐπιδεῖν 4²⁹
 ἐπιφωνεῖν 22²⁴
 ἐπιχειρεῖν 9²⁹, 19¹³
 ἐσπέρα 4³, 28²³
 εὐλαβής 22¹²
 εὐτόνως 18²⁸
 θάμβος 3¹⁰

ἱασις 4²², 30
 καθεξῆς 3²⁴, 18²³
 καθιέναι 10¹¹
 καθ' ὅλης τῆς 9³¹, 10³⁷
 καθότι 2⁴⁵, 17³¹
 κατακλείειν 26¹⁰
 κατακολουθεῖν 16¹⁷
 κλάσις 2⁴²
 κλινάριον 5¹⁵
 κράτιστος 23²⁶
 ὀδυνᾶσθαι 20³⁸
 ὁμιλεῖν 24²⁵
 παραβιάζεσθαι 16¹⁵
 παραλελυμένος (= 'palsied') 9³³
 περιλάμπειν 26¹³
 πονηρὸν πνεῦμα 19¹³
 προβάλλειν 19³³
 προπορεύεσθαι 7⁴⁰
 προσδοκία 12¹¹
 προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς 5³⁵, 20²⁸
 προϋπάρχειν 8⁹
 στρατηγός 16²⁰ (σ. τοῦ ἱεροῦ) 4¹
 συγγένεια 7³, 14
 συμβάλλειν 4¹⁵
 συμπληροῦν 2¹
 συναρπάζειν 6¹², 27¹⁵
 συνείναι 22¹¹
 τῇ ἐχομένῃ 20¹⁵
 τραυματίζειν 19¹⁶
 τραχύς 27²⁹
 ὑψιστος (of God) 7⁴⁸
 χεὶρ κυρίου 13¹¹

Words only in Acts.

A large number of the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in Acts is due to the special character of its subject-matter; thus many are official and military terms,¹ others are connected with the subject of imprisonment,² others with travel and navigation;³ some of them are technical terms of

¹ Such as ἀνθύπατος, Ἀσιάρχης, δεξιολάβος, ἐπαρχία, ἱππεύς, κολωνία, νεωκύρος, πολιτάρχης, βαβδούχος, σεβαστός, στρατοπεδάρχης, τετράδιον.

² ἀκατάκριτος, ἀνάκρισις, δεσμοφύλαξ, δεσμώτης, μαστίζειν, προτείνειν, φυλακίζειν.

³ Compounds of πλεῖν (ἀπο- δια- ἐκ- παρα- ὑπο-), πλοῦς, βραδυπλοεῖν, ἀρτέμων,

medicine.¹ Beyond these, however, a very long list gives a good idea of Luke's vocabulary.

ἀγνισμός 21²⁶
 ἄγνωστος 17²³
 ἀγοραῖος 17⁵
 ἀγράμματος 4¹³
 αἰτίωμα 25⁷
 ἀκατάκριτος 16³⁷
 ἀκρίβεια, -ῆς 22³, 24²²
 ἀκροατήριον 25²³
 ἀκωλύτως 28³¹
 ἀλίσγημα 15²⁰
 ἀλλόφυλος 10²⁸
 ἀμάρτυρος 14¹⁷
 ἀμύνεσθαι 7²⁴
 ἀναβαθμός 21⁴⁰
 ἀναβάλλεσθαι 24²²
 ἀναβολή 25¹⁷
 ἀναδιδόναι 23³³
 ἀναθέματι ἀναθεματί-
 ζειν 23¹⁴
 ἀναίρεσις 8¹
 ἀνάκρισις 25²⁶
 ἀναντίρητος, -ως 19³⁶,
 10²⁹
 ἀναπείθειν 18¹³
 ἀνασκευάζειν 15²⁴
 ἀνατρέφεσθαι 7²⁰
 ἀνάψυξις 3²⁰
 ἀνετάζειν 22²⁴
 ἀνεύθετος 27¹²
 ἀνθύπατος 13⁷
 ἄντικρυς 20¹⁵
 ἀντιπίπτειν 7⁵¹
 ἀντὶφθαλμῆιν 27¹⁵
 ἀνωτέρικός 19¹
 ἀπελαύνειν 18¹⁶
 ἀπελεγμός 19²⁷
 ἀπιέναι (abeo) 17¹⁰

ἀποκατάστασις 3²¹
 ἀποπίπτειν 9¹⁸
 ἀποπλεῖν 13⁴
 ἀπορρίπτειν 27⁴³
 ἀποφθέγγεσθαι 2⁴
 ἀποφορτίζεσθαι 21³
 ἄρα γε 8³⁰
 ἀργυροκόπος 19²⁴
 ἀρτέμων 27⁴⁰
 ἀρχιερατικός 4⁶
 ἄσημος 21³⁹
 Ἀσιάρχης 19³¹
 ἄσιτος, -ία 27³³, 21¹
 ἄσκεῖν 24¹⁶
 ἀσύμφωνος 28²⁵
 αὐγή 20¹¹
 αὐτόχειρ 27¹⁹
 ἀφελότης 24⁶
 ἄφιξις 20²⁹
 ἄφνω 2²
 ἀχλὺς 13¹¹
 βάσις 3⁷
 βία, -αιος 5²⁶, 2²
 βίωσις 26⁴
 βολίζειν 27²⁸
 βραδυπλοεῖν 27⁷
 βρύχειν 7⁵⁴
 βυρσεύς 9⁴⁸
 βωμός 17²³
 γάζα 8²⁷
 γερουσία 5²¹
 γλεῦκος 2¹³
 γνώστης 26³
 δεισιδαίμων, -ονία 17²²,
 25¹⁹
 δεξιολάβος 23²³
 δεσμοφύλαξ 16²³

δεσμώτης 27¹
 δευτεραῖος 28¹³
 δημηγορεῖν 12²¹
 δῆμος, -όσιος 12²², 5¹⁸
 διαγινώσκειν 24²²
 διάγνωσις 25²¹
 διαδέχεσθαι 7⁴⁶
 διάδοχος 24²⁷
 διακατελέγχεσθαι 18²⁸
 διακούειν 23³⁵
 διάλεκτος 1¹⁹
 διαλύειν 5³⁶
 διαμάχεσθαι 23⁹
 διανέμειν 4¹⁷
 διανύειν 21⁷
 διαπλεῖν 27⁵
 διαπονείσθαι 4²
 διαπρίειν 5³³
 διασπείρειν 8¹
 διάστημα 5⁷
 διατελεῖν 27³³
 διαφεύγειν 27⁴²
 διαφθορά 2²⁷
 διαχειρίζεσθαι 5³⁰
 διαχλενάζειν 2¹³
 διερρωτᾶν 10¹⁷
 διετία 24²⁷
 διθάλασσος 27⁴¹
 διοπετής 19³¹
 δυσεντέριον 28⁸
 δωδεκάφυλον 26⁷
 ἐγκλημα 25¹⁶
 ἔδαφος 22⁷
 εἰσκαλεῖσθαι 10²³
 εἰστρέχειν 12¹⁴
 ἐκβολή 27¹⁸
 ἐκδιηγείσθαι 13⁴¹

βολίζειν, διθάλασσος, ἐκβολή, κολυμβᾶν (and ἐκ-), ἐμβιβάζειν, ἀποφορτίζεσθαι, εὐθυδρομεῖν, εὐρακύλων, χειμάζειν and παραχειμασία, πεζεύνειν, πῶρα, σκάφη, σκευή, ὑποζωννύειν, ὑποπνεῖν, λιμήν, λίψ, χῶρος, ζευκτηρία, ναῦς, ναύκληρος, νησίον, ὀργυιά, παράσημος.

¹ ἀχλὺς, βάσις, ἐκψύχειν, θερμη, καθάπτειν, λεπίς, πίμπρασθαι, σφυδρόν.

ἐκδοτος 2²³
 ἐκείσε 21⁹
 ἐκθαμβος 3¹¹
 ἐκθετός 7¹⁹
 ἐκκαλυμβᾶν 27⁴²
 ἐκλαλεῖν 23²²
 ἐκπέμπειν 13⁴
 ἐκπηδᾶν 14¹⁴
 ἐκπλεῖν 20⁶
 ἐκπληροῦν, -ωσις 13⁸³,
 21²⁶

ἐκταράσσειν 16²⁰
 ἐκτένεια 26⁷
 ἐκτιθέναι 7²¹
 ἐκψύχειν 5⁵
 ἔλευσις 7⁵²
 ἐμβιβάζειν 27⁶
 ἐμμαίνεσθαι 26¹¹
 ἐμπνέειν 9¹
 ἐνδεής 4³⁴
 ἐνέδρα 23¹⁶
 ἐντόπιος 21¹⁹
 ἐντρομος 7³²
 ἐνύπνιον 2¹⁷
 ἐνωτίζεισθαι 2¹⁴
 ἐξάλλεσθαι 3⁸
 ἐξίνααι 13⁴³
 ἐξολεθροῦν 3²⁸
 ἐξορκιστής, 19¹³
 ἐξοχή 25²³
 ἐξυπνος 16²⁷
 ἐξωθεῖν 7⁴⁵
 ἐπακροᾶσθαι 16²⁵
 ἐπάναγκες 15²⁸
 ἐπαρχεία 23³⁴
 ἔπαυλις 1²⁰
 ἐπεγείρειν 13⁵⁰
 ἐπίνααι 16¹¹
 ἐπέκεινα 7⁴³
 ἐπιβουλή 9²³
 ἐπιδημεῖν 2¹⁰
 ἐπικουρία 26²²
 ἐπιμέλεια 27³
 ἐπινεύειν 18²⁰
 ἐπίνοια 8²²

ἐπιστηρίζειν 14²¹
 ἐπιστροφή 15³
 ἐπισφαλής 27⁹
 ἐπιτροπή 26¹²
 ἐρεΐδειν 27⁴¹
 εὐεργετεῖν 10³⁸
 εὐθυδρομεῖν 21¹
 εὐθυμος 27³⁶
 εὐπορεῖν, -ία 11²⁹, 19²⁵
 εὐρακῶν 27¹⁴
 εὐφροσύνη 2²⁶
 ἐφάλλεσθαι 19¹⁶
 ζευκτηρία 27⁴⁰
 ζήτημα 15²
 θάρσος 28¹⁵
 θεά 19²⁷
 θεομάχος 5³⁹
 θέρμη 28³
 θυμομαχεῖν 12²⁰
 ἱερόσυλος 19³⁷
 ἱππεύς 23²³
 καθάπτειν 28³
 καθημερινός 6¹
 καθόλου 4¹⁸
 κάκωσις 7³⁴
 καρδιογνώστης 1²⁴
 καρποφόρος 14¹⁷
 καταγγελεύς 17¹⁸
 κατακληρονομεῖν 13¹⁰
 κατάλοιπος 15¹⁷
 καταμένειν 1¹³
 κατανύσσειν 2³⁷
 καταριθμεῖν 1¹⁷
 κατασεῖν 19³³
 κατασοφίζεσθαι 7¹⁹
 κατάστέλλειν 19³⁵
 κατάσχεσις 7⁵
 κατατρέχειν 21³²
 καταφέρειν 20⁹
 καταφρονητής 13⁴¹
 κατείδωλος 17¹⁶
 κατεφιστάναι 18¹²
 κατοικία 17²⁶
 κοιτών 12²⁰
 κολουμβᾶν 27⁴³

κολωνία 16¹⁹
 κοπετός 8²
 κουφίζειν 27³
 κτήτωρ 4³⁴
 λακτίζειν 26¹⁴
 λαμπρότης 26¹³
 λάσκειν 1¹⁸
 λεπίς 9¹⁸
 λιμήν 27¹²
 λίψ 27¹²
 λόγιος 18²⁴
 λυμαίνεσθαι 8
 λυτρωτής 7³⁵
 μαγία, -εύω 8¹¹, 9
 μαθήτρια 9³⁶
 μακροθύμως 26³
 μανία 26²⁴
 μαντεύεσθαι 16¹⁶
 μαστίζειν 22²⁵
 μεσημβρία 22⁶
 μεστοῦν 2¹³
 μεταβάλλειν 28⁶
 μετακαλείσθαι 7¹⁴
 μεταπέμπεσθαι 10⁵
 μετοικίζειν 7⁴
 μετρίως 20¹²
 μηδαμῶς 10¹⁴
 μίσθωμα 28³⁰
 μοσχοποιεῖν 7⁴¹
 ναύκληρος 27¹¹
 ναῦς 27⁴¹
 νεανίας 20⁹
 νεωκόρος 19³⁵
 νησίον 27¹⁶
 ὁδοπορεῖν 10⁹
 ὀθόνη 10¹¹
 οἴκημα 12⁷
 οἰκοδόμος 4¹¹
 ὀκνεῖν 9³⁸
 ὀλοκληρία 3¹⁶
 ὁμότεχνος 18³
 ὀπτάνομαι 1³
 ὀργυιά 27²⁸
 ὀροθεσία 17²⁶
 οὐρανόθεν 14¹⁷

ὀχλοποιεῖν 17⁵
 παθητός 26²³
 πανοικεί 16³⁴
 πάντῃ 24³
 παραθεωρεῖν 6¹
 παραινεῖν 27⁹
 παραλέγεσθαι 27⁸
 παραγομεῖν 23³
 παραπλεῖν 20¹⁶
 παράσημος 28¹¹
 παρατείνειν 20⁷
 παρατυγχάνειν 17¹⁷
 παραχειμασία 27¹²
 παρενοχλεῖν 15¹⁹
 παροίχεται 14¹⁶
 παροτρύνειν 13⁵⁰
 πατρῶος 22³
 πεζεύειν 20¹³
 περιαστράπτειν 9³
 περικρατής 27¹⁶
 περιμένειν 1⁴
 πέριξ 5¹⁶
 περιοχή 8³²
 περιηγνύναι 16²²
 περιτρέπειν 26²⁴
 πίμπρασθαι (medical)
 28⁵
 πλοῦς 21⁷
 πνικτός 15²⁰
 πνοή 2², 17²⁵
 πολιτάρχης 17⁹
 πορφυρόπωλις 16¹⁴
 πρηνής 1¹⁸
 προκηρύσσειν 13²⁴
 προορᾶν 21²⁹
 προσαπειλεῖν 4²¹
 προσδεῖσθαι 17²⁵
 προσεᾶν 27⁷
 προσκληροῦν 17⁴
 προσλαλεῖν 13⁴³
 πρόσπεινος 10¹⁰
 προσπηγνύναι 23³
 προσφάτως 18²
 προσωπολήμπτῃς 10³⁴
 προτείνειν 22²⁵

προτρέπεσθαι 18²⁷
 προχειρίζειν 3²⁰
 προχειροτονεῖν 10⁴¹
 πρῶτα 27³⁰
 πρωτοστάτης 24⁵
 πύθων 16¹⁶
 πυρά 28²
 ραβδοῦχος 16³⁵
 ραδιουργημα, -γία 18¹⁴,
 13¹⁰
 ῥήτωρ 24¹
 ῥωννύναι 15²⁹
 σανίς 27⁴⁴
 σεβαστός 25²¹
 σικάριος 21³⁸
 σιμικίνθιον 19¹²
 σκάφη 27¹⁶
 σκευή 27¹⁹
 σκηνοποιός 18³
 σκληροτράχηλος 7⁵¹
 σκωληκόβρωτος 12²³
 σπερμολόγος 17¹⁸
 στέμμα 14¹³
 στερεοῦν 3⁷
 συγκαταβαίνειν 25⁵
 συγκαταψηφίζειν 1²⁶
 συγκινεῖν 6¹³
 συγκομίζειν 8²
 συγχεῖν, -χυσις 19^{32, 29}
 συμπαρεῖναι 25²⁴
 συμπεριλαμβάνειν 20¹⁰
 συμπίνειν 10⁴¹
 συμψηφίζειν 19¹⁰
 συναλίζειν 1⁴
 συνδρομή 21³⁰
 συνέπεσθαι 20⁴
 συνεφιστάναι 16²²
 συνθρύπτειν 21¹³
 συνοδεύειν 9⁷
 συνομιλεῖν 10²⁷
 συνομορεῖν 18⁷
 σύντροφος 13¹
 συνωμοσία 23¹³
 συστροφή 23¹²

σφάγιον 7⁴²
 σφοδρῶς 27¹⁸
 σφυδρόν 3⁷
 σχολή 19⁹
 τακτός 12²¹
 ταῦν 4²⁹
 τάραχος 12¹⁸
 τάχιστα 17¹⁵
 τεκμήριον 1³
 τεσσαρακονταετής 13¹⁸
 τετράδιον 12⁴
 τιμωρεῖν 22⁵
 τοῖχος 23³
 τριετία 20³¹
 τρίστεγος 20⁹
 τροποφορεῖν 13¹³
 τυφωνικός 27¹⁴
 ὑπεριδεῖν 17⁸⁰
 ὑπερῶν 1¹³
 ὑπηρετεῖν 13⁸⁶
 ὑποβάλλειν 6¹¹
 ὑποζωννύναι 27¹⁷
 ὑπονοεῖν 25¹⁸
 ὑποπλεῖν 27⁴
 ὑποπνεῖν 27¹³
 ὑποτρέχειν 27¹⁶
 φαντασία 25²³
 φάσις 21³¹
 φιλανθρώπως 27³
 φιλόσοφος 17¹⁸
 φιλοφρόνως 28⁷
 φρυάσσειν 4²⁵
 φρύγανον 28³
 φυλακίζειν 22¹⁹
 φύλαξ 5²³
 χειμάζειν 27¹⁸
 χειραγωγεῖν, -γός 9⁸,
 13¹¹
 χλευάζειν 17⁸²
 χόρτασμα 7¹¹
 χρονοτριβεῖν 20¹⁶
 χρώς 19¹²
 ἡώρος 27¹²
 ὠνεῖσθαι 7¹⁶

Hebraisms in Acts.

ἐγένετο δέ and similar phrases 19¹, 21¹ freq.

ἰδοὺ 1¹⁰, 20²².

ἄγγελος = angel; πνεῦμα = spirit, freq.

ῥῆμα = subject 10³⁷.

ὁδός = manner of life 9² freq.

οἶκος = family 10² freq.

ψυχή = person 2⁴¹, 27³⁷ freq.

κύριος = Jehovah 2²⁰, 11²¹, &c.

ποιεῖν ἐλεημοσύνας 10². π. χαράν 15³.

ἐπαίρειν τὴν φωνήν 2¹⁴, 14¹¹, &c.

ἐν μέσῳ and ἐκ μέσου 2²², 17^{22,33}, 27²¹.

δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν 21²⁰, &c.

ἐνώπιον 4¹⁰ freq.

ἀναστὰς θύσον and similar phrases 11⁷.

εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν 2²¹, similar phrase 9²⁵. Cf. 13²⁴ πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰσόδου.

ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός 14⁸, &c.

λόγος τῆς χάριτος 20³².

Phrases like παραγγελία παρηγγειλαμεν 5¹⁸. ἀναθέματι ἀνεθεματίσαμεν 23¹⁴.

ἐπλήσθησαν πνεύματος 2⁴ and similar phrases 6⁵, 13^{9,10}, 19²⁸.

Phrase with πληροῦν 2^{1,28}, 3¹⁸, 14²⁶, 19²¹.

Phrases with ἡμέρα 1⁵, 1¹⁵, 2²⁹, 5³⁶, 15⁷, 23¹.

ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων 16¹³. ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων 20⁷.

ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων 12³, 20⁶.

ἡμέρα τῆς πεντηκοστῆς 2¹, 20¹⁶.

Circumlocutions with χεῖρ 2²³, 11²¹, 13¹¹, 15²³.

στόμα 1¹⁶, 3¹⁸, 8³⁵, 15⁷, 18¹⁴.

ὄνομα 3^{6,16} freq.

πρόσωπον 3^{18,20}, 13²⁴.

Periphrastic tenses 1^{13,14}, 10²⁴, 21³, 25¹⁰.

The periphrastic future is found in Acts alone of N. T. books; 11²³, 24¹⁵, 27¹⁰, cf. 23³⁰.

WORDS WHICH, IN THE N.T., OCCUR ONLY IN LUKE'S AND PAUL'S WRITINGS.¹

Words occurring in both Gospel and Acts.

	<i>Acts.</i>	<i>Paul.²</i>
ἀνθ' ὧν	12 ²³	2 Thess. 2 ¹⁰
ἀπολογεῖσθαι	26 ²⁴	twice
ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν	18 ⁶	2 Cor. 5 ¹⁶
ἀσφάλεια	5 ²³	1 Thess. 5 ³
ἀτενίζειν	1 ¹⁰ freq.	twice
ἄτοπος	25 ⁵ , 28 ⁶	2 Thess. 3 ²
διαπορεύεσθαι	16 ⁴	Rom. 1 ⁻²⁴
δόγμα	16 ⁴	twice
ἐξαποστέλλειν	22 ²¹ freq.	twice
ἐξουθενεῖν	4 ¹¹	8 times
ἐργασία	16 ¹⁹ , &c.	Eph. 4 ¹⁹
ἐφιστάναι	12 ⁷ freq.	1 Thess. 5 ³
ἡσυχάζειν	11 ¹⁸	1 Thess. 4 ¹¹
ἰδοὺ γάρ	9 ¹¹	2 Cor. 7 ¹¹
κατάγειν	27 ³	Rom. 10 ⁶
καταξιωθῆναι	5 ⁴¹	2 Thess.
συνενδοκεῖν	8 ¹ , 22 ²⁰	3 times
τὰ περί	1 ³ freq.	5 times
τὸ σωτήριον	28 ²⁸	Eph. 6 ¹⁷
χαρίζεσθαι	3 ¹⁴	15 times
ψαλμός	13 ³³	3 times.

Words occurring in Acts, but not in the Gospel.

ἀνάγνωσις	13 ¹⁵	2 Cor. 3 ¹⁴
ἀνάθεμα	23 ¹⁴	5 times
ἀναστατοῦν	17 ⁶	Gal. 5 ¹²
ἀνατίθεσθαι	25 ¹⁴	Gal. 2 ²
ἄνεσις	24 ²⁸	4 times
ἀπειλή	4 ²⁹	Eph. 6 ⁹
ἀποδεικνύναι	2 ²²	twice
ἀποβολή	27 ²²	Rom. 11 ¹⁵
ἀπολούεσθαι	22 ¹⁶	1 Cor. 6 ¹¹
ἀποστολή	1 ²⁵	3 times

¹ Comparisons between Luke's vocabulary and that of other N. T. writers may be found in Plummer's Introduction to his edition of St. Luke's Gospel, or in Simcox's *The Writers of the New Testament*.

² The Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles is so much questioned that they have been excluded from reference in the following lists.

	<i>Acts.</i>	<i>Paul.</i>
ἀπρόσκοπος	24 ¹⁶	twice
ἀπωθεῖσθαι	13 ⁴⁶	twice
βάρβαρος	28 ²	4 times
διαταγή	7 ⁵³	Rom. 13 ²
ἐγκαλεῖν	23 ²⁹ freq.	Rom. 8 ³³
ἐμφανής	10 ⁴⁰	Rom. 10 ²⁰
ἐννομος	19 ³⁹	1 Cor. 9 ²¹
ἐπιείκεια	24 ⁴	2 Cor. 10 ¹
ἐπίστασις	24 ¹²	2 Cor. 11 ²⁸
εὐαγγελιστής	21 ⁸	Eph. 4 ¹¹
ζέειν τῷ πνεύματι	18 ²⁵	Rom. 12 ¹¹
ζημία	27 ¹⁰	twice
θέατρον	19 ²⁹	1 Cor. 4 ⁹
καθῆκειν	22 ²²	Rom. 1 ²⁸
καταγγέλλειν	3 ²⁴ freq.	7 times
καταντᾶν	18 ¹⁹ freq.	4 times
μαρτύρεσθαι	26 ²²	3 times
νουθετεῖν	20 ³¹	7 times
ξενία	28 ²³	Philem. 22
ξυρᾶσθαι	21 ²⁴	twice
ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου	8 ²⁵ , &c.	1 Thess. 1 ⁸
ὁμοθυμαδόν	4 ²⁴ freq.	Rom. 15 ⁶
παραγγελία	16 ²⁴	1 Thess. 4 ²
παρασκευάζειν	10 ¹⁰	3 times
παραχειμάζειν	27 ¹²	1 Cor. 16 ⁶
παροξύνεσθαι	17 ¹⁶	1 Cor. 13 ⁵
παρρησιάζεσθαι	9 ²⁷	twice
πολιτεία	22 ²³	Eph. 2 ¹²
πολιτεύεσθαι	23 ¹	Phil. 1 ²⁷
πορθεῖν	9 ²¹	twice
προειπεῖν	1 ¹⁶	twice
προθυμία	17 ¹¹	4 times
προιδεῖν	2 ³¹	Gal. 3 ⁸
πρόνοια	24 ²	Rom. 13 ¹⁴
προορίζειν	4 ²⁵	5 times
ῥαβδίζειν	16 ²²	2 Cor. 11 ²⁵
σέβασμα	17 ²³	2 Thess. 2 ⁴
στοιχεῖν	21 ²⁴	4 times
συμβιβάζειν	9 ²²	4 times
σύνδεσμος	8 ²³	3 times
συνειδέναι	5 ²	1 Cor. 4 ⁴
συνέκδημος	19 ²⁹	2 Cor. 8 ¹⁹
συστέλλειν	5 ⁶	1 Cor. 7 ²⁹

	<i>Acts.</i>	<i>Paul.</i>
τετράποδα	10 ¹²	Rom. 1 ²³
τήρησι	4 ³	1 Cor. 7 ¹⁹
ὑβρις	27 ^{10 21}	2 Cor. 12 ¹⁰
ὑπήκοος	7 ³⁹	twice
φάσκειν	24 ⁹	Rom. 1 ²²
χειροτονεῖν	14 ²³	2 Cor. 8 ¹⁹
χρησθαι	27 ^{3.17}	7 times.

SOME IMPORTANT VARIANT READINGS IN THE MSS. OF ACTS.¹

8³⁷. εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ [ὁ Φίλιππος] Εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου [ἔξεστιν]. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπεν Πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν [Χριστόν]. Bezan and others, with much variation.

8³⁹. πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον, ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου. Bezan.

9²⁵. Some om. αὐτοῦ.

11². Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος διὰ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου ἠθέλησεν πορευθῆναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ προσφωνήσας τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ ἐπιστηρίξας αὐτοὺς πολὺν λόγον ποιούμενος διὰ τῶν χωρῶν διδάσκων αὐτούς ὃς καὶ κατήντησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐκ περιτομῆς ἀδελφοὶ διεκρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτόν. Bezan.

11²⁰. Ἑλληνας Aleph A D. Ἑλληνιστάς B and most.

12²⁵. εἰς Aleph B and most. ἐξ others.

13¹⁴. τὴν Πισιδίαν best MSS. τῆς Πισιδίας others.

13¹⁸. ἐτροποφόρησεν Aleph B D. ἐτροφοφόρησεν A C and others.

15³. ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος μένειν οὕτως καθὼς ἐπίστευσαν διῶσχυρίζομενος οἱ δὲ ἐληλυθότες ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ παρήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις ἀναβαίνειν. Bezan.

15¹⁰. Bezan om. καὶ πνικτοῦ, adding after αἵματος, καὶ ὅσα ἂν μὴ θέλωσιν αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἐτέροις μὴ ποιεῖν.

15²⁹. Bezan om. καὶ πνικτῶν, adding after πορνείας, ὅσα μὴ θέλετε αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἐτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖτε, and after πράξετε, φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

16⁶. So best MSS. Some τὴν Γαλ.

17⁴. Bezan πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλ.

19³⁹. περαιτέρῳ B, Bezan. περὶ ἐτέρων others.

20²⁸. κυρίου A C D E. θεοῦ Aleph B.

21²⁵. Bezan om. καὶ πνικτόν.

26²⁸. γενέσθαι later MSS. πείθει A.

27³⁷. So B. Others add διακόσμαι after ὧς.

28¹³. περιελόντες Aleph B. περιελθόντες others.

28¹⁶. ὁ ἑκατόντ. παρέδωκεν τοὺς δεσμούς τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῳ, τῷ δὲ Π. ἑπετρ. Bezan.

¹ Westcott and Hort's text has been taken as the basis.

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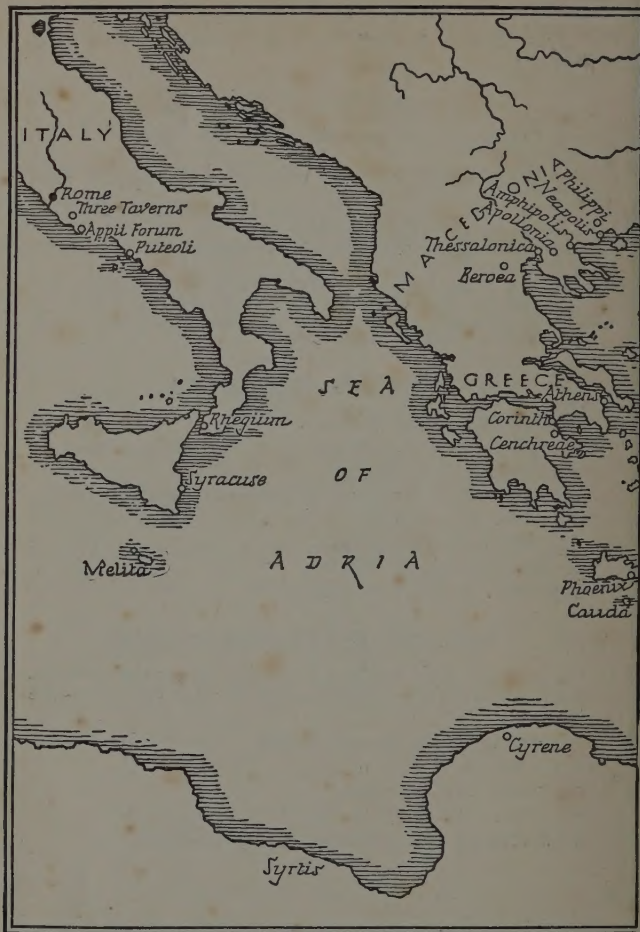
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